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## THE ECONOMY OF HUMANITY.

ONE of the most remarkable features of Christianity, and which in itself is a powerful witness to its truth, is the influence it exercises on the steady progress of our race. The whole of its moral code is efficient for that purpose, either directly or indirectly, and regarding it as abstract law, and comparing its results with the more easily distinguishable effects of physical cause, it is evident that they are equally certain, but with the difference, that while physical action is, to our comprehension, more immediately decisive, moral effects are more subtle in their action, more diffuse in their ramifications, and, although apparently less bound by specific conclusions, yet are equally subject to the conditions of cause and effect.

It may be laid down as an axiom, that all things, under all conditions, are bound by law, and that the effect of law is absolutely invariable when the conditions are the same: Therefore, every action of life is the forerunner of inevitable consequences. Our comprehension embraces only two *primary* general laws, the moral and the physical. The

mental and intellectual faculties are powerful factors in elucidating them, but they are not law, they are the effects of law, possibly spiritual, about which—speaking metaphysically—we know nothing.

The generally direct action of physical law affords immediate evidence to the senses of its inviolability, and to such an extent that the solution of anything not immediately comprehended is sought for with a self satisfied assurance of its existence; but moral law embraces final conclusions which are beyond the power of calculation, and this leads to the inappreciation or perversion of its facts by the misdirection or waywardness of the human faculties of perception, and also to the immediate gratification of improper desires, through doubts as to the nature of the remote penalty, or through a false impression of the possibility of evading such penalty.

It is not the present purpose to meet objections as to the validity of the Christian Code of moral law, or the source from which it emanates. It is simply accepted as fact, even were it solely through the amount of evidence which logical reasoning, both positive and negative, can be brought to bear upon it, independently of theological considerations; but this will be considered presently.

All creation is a witness to the fact that progression is the chief feature and condition of existence, and human experience is sufficient to testify that the observance of moral law is the chief condition of progression, and also that law is a necessity required by the freedom of action of the very erratic mental and intellectual faculties; and as we have experienced in the gradual advance of ages, the way in which freedom of action has been influenced by the mental perception of its truthful results, we have only to consider what the effect would be if it were thoroughly established over the whole world, to realize its importance in every measure which represents progression. Viewing this question in all its bearings, it is one of the innumerable evidences of the consummate wisdom, past being appreciable, of the workings of the All-supreme; freedom of action combined with a law by which to regulate it, are necessary for the display of the attributes which it is in

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our nature to reverence, and which could not exist so far as they relate to human affairs, without them, for then there could be no justice, mercy, love, and much more which we venerate, and the God of our reverence would simply be an imperious autocrat playing with puppets. The nature He has implanted in us shudders and rebels at the idea, and this, coupled with the fact of progression, proves it to be false.

Thus it appears, that we can find no fault with moral law as established by Christianity; the truthfulness of its immediate and positive effects is sufficiently evident to justify us in assuming that both its remote, and such of its negative effects with which we may not be familiar, are equally truthful and certain, and the question arises: If moral law so certainly ought to regulate our action, and if conformity with its rules so certainly results in prosperity and progression, to what may we attribute the widespread amount of nonconformity with them in which the world abounds? This gives rise to many considerations. We find that inanimate nature is invariably true to its conditions. Vegetation is ruled by law. Animals abide by the various instincts of species. Man alone is invested conditionally, and to a limited extent, with the power of influencing the direction of the effects of law, but not of determining them. He alone is subject to moral influences; he alone is provided with the mental and intellectual capacity to appreciate them; to him alone is the infraction of law applicable; and he alone is responsible for it; and a review of the direct and uniformly satisfactory results of law, in all matters not subjected to human influence, taken in comparison with those which human action has the power to temporarily retard or divert, goes far to prove that all the evils of life, be they emotional or physical, are consequent upon such action, and, therefore, that the first and chief condition of progression is an adherence to the principles which seem especially adapted to meet the mental and intellectual requirements consequent upon that freedom of action which would otherwise have no determinate guide.

The whole economy of humanity may be summed up

in this adherence, for all its details must be dependent upon it, which is clearly shown when we consider that the only instances in which the desirable effect of law is not directly attained are those in which man is entrusted with the exercise of a discretionary, but restricted power, to influence its direction. Objections to the consequences of its infraction are tantamount to calling in question either its validity or human freedom of action. If the former does not obtain, the truthful results in conformity with it are utterly unaccountable; and if we reject the latter, we resign all the most cherished principles which are bound up with our existence. Moreover, if we reject one we must reject both, for free agency and moral obligations are necessities of each other, and without moral law there could be no moral obligations. But it is clear that they are necessities of any existence which is not infallible, for they are the leading principles of progression, without which there would be a retrogression quite inconsistent with the evident scheme of creation, and leading either to annihilation or to a debasement which is fearful to contemplate.

Taking the fact of progression as a premise, it is competent for us to compare the results hitherto established by physical law, in their relation to humanity, with those attained by moral law, and to draw deductions from the comparison. First then let us consider physical law, because hitherto its effects have been more pronounced. Scientists have made it clear, beyond any reasonable cause for doubt, that, at some very remote period of time, the earth must have been an incandescent globe, necessarily devoid of any of the properties or qualifications which now characterize it as an abode of life—at least so far as we are able to determine, for it is not here intended to raise the question whether progression is the result of primary law, or of successive acts of creation; either will suffice for the present purpose of showing that there has been gradually and progressively established a state of things perfectly adapted to our physical requirements, from a starting point in which, to our comprehension, none of the conditions existed; and so perfect is the adaptation of matter to our material necessities, that there is no clue by which it can be metaphysic-

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ally determined, whether the earth was created expressly for the abode of man, or man was fashioned in conformity with the capabilities of the earth to meet the conditions of his creation. So far then as regards its relation to humanity, physical law has apparently developed its full effects, for our senses accept and appreciate them as perfectly suitable to all their requirements; but the law itself is only recognized by the intellect through the undeviating constancy of effect. The reverse obtains in moral law, for we have a clear exposition of its full code, and although we have sufficient experience of the constancy of its action to determine it to be equally sure, yet, that action is still only in a progressive state, not imperfect in its course, but imperfect as to its ultimate attainment.

It would seem that physical law, in a progression through untold ages, has developed perfect effects, preparatory to and necessary to the advent of a higher form of law, by which the mind, the intellect, and the will are to be regulated; and not only a higher form, but a different one in its provisions, which is necessitated by the difference of the action it has been established to regulate, and which also apparently contains the first limited concession from that which is inexorable to that which is as clay in the potter's hands, by allowing a choice of its acceptance or rejection, each to be followed by inevitable consequences. We have before us to-day the transitional stage of the gradually developing effect of that law and its concession which may possibly be compared to that stage of the earth's physical progression in which the "dry land appeared" and gave a promise of the future wonders of creation, but we have now, in addition to a directly stated promise, a precedent in the perfection of physical law, to assure us that the edicts of the Almighty are immutable and perfect in their conclusions, and we are endowed with mental capacity to recognize this precedent as a guarantee of the truth of that which is established to guide us in a course wherein we have the discretion of right or wrong doing.

If then we have the full assurance that law is immutable, and perfect in its ultimate results, we may be satisfied that the present imperfect condition of the results of moral law

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is only a phase in the course of their final development, which development is retarded solely by the misdirection of the discretionary power of man, for whom alone the law was apparently especially instituted, because to him alone it seems applicable.

From the above it may be deduced that as progression is a verity in the order of nature, and as the results of physical law seem to have been perfected, with regard to human requirements, as a preparatory basis for the advent of moral law, so may the perfected results of the latter be the prelude to a manifestation of a still higher form, of a purely spiritual nature, embracing still higher conditions. A conclusion which is quite consistent with the teaching of Christianity. It is however the present condition of humanity which concerns us now, and as its details are dependent and consequent upon general principles, it is only the latter which need be considered here; and without raising the question of the primary origin of evil, an inquiry into its present immediate cause is fairly answerable. For if we find that the infraction of physical law is impossible, and that its action is perfect, it is strong evidence that the evils of life exist solely through man's non-compliance with moral law; for to him alone the power of its infraction applies, and in him alone is imperfection apparent.

Knowing then the cause, the next consideration is, What is the remedy and how is it to be applied? A most difficult question to answer in detail, with the thousands of conflicting influences attending it; but there is perceptibly an inherent power of truth and righteousness in every act of creation, from which it would seem strange if man were totally excluded, and whether it takes a thousand years or one day to develop itself is determinable by Him who commands eternity. In the meantime it is apparent that the command we have received to struggle towards it, is proof that its development is to some extent entrusted to our own agency; and as in human institutions each individual claims a right to a voice in their conclusions, so in this incomparably higher matter, each is entrusted with a moral power to influence the advancement of his race, and is responsible for the consequences attendant upon the way in

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which he exercises it. And those consequences extend to a much greater remoteness in their action than at first sight appears, for the endeavor to follow them through all their subtle intricacies is bewildering,

This reduces the question to one of individual responsibility, and one has only to consider the tremendous consequences which his action involves,—for whatever it is it begets its similitude in some form or other—to be impressed with the importance of its proper direction, and also to realize the fact that those consequences are not confined to himself, but spread through numberless intricate channels either for good or evil.

The present apparent exigencies of the greater portion of humanity,—which doubtless are mostly merely conventional—are opposed to the employment of time and thought necessary for the proper consideration of first principles. The mad race for money, popularity, power, personal influence, and all those things which—from being purely selfish in their nature, contain in themselves the germs of crime—have not only no tendency to progression, but are prejudicial to the perception of its true source, and contain no room in their feverish excitements for a thought of the honesty, charity, forbearance, self-denial, and all the virtues which are followed by peace, contentment, and the most solid and satisfactory enjoyments of life, and consequently the advancement of the general interests of mankind. And as cause and effect are positive and inalienable quantities, it is useless to attempt the gaining of any specific end without applying the true cause, and as there is full proof that the purest and the most rational enjoyments of life are those which are based upon the observance of moral law as established by Christianity, and which are also followed by consequences which help progression, it is satisfactory evidence that that law is infallible. We further find that the revilers of Christianity confine their animadversions to contention as to its origin, but dare not question the indisputable truth of its conclusions, which are so strong a proof of its origin. And such is its power of truth, that,—notwithstanding the liberality of the age, which fully concurs with the right of freedom of opinion—any demonstration opposed

to the principles of a pure morality meets with little encouragement from popular acclamation, and it is strong evidence of the stability of morality as taught by Christianity in minute detail, and of the power of its truth influencing our action, that, although it may not be popularly observed, it is never popularly condemned.

There is something more than hope in the fact, that the power of mind over matter—as humanly represented—has steadily increased since the time,—not a very long period in history—when might was the sole arbiter of right. Therefore, the human mind is clearly undergoing an education which will probably culminate in a true perception of the invincible might of moral truth, and the utter inutility of attempting to gain whatever ought to be the highest aims of life without its aid. The struggle is an individual one. It is against selfishness, the great opponent of that prime law of Christianity, the law of love and charity, which S. Paul,—with that foresightedness which characterizes his utterances—places before faith and hope, thereby showing—without disparaging the latter—that unanimity in supporting the general welfare, is of greater importance than the attainment of anything solely affecting individuality, for it is apparent that individual welfare is a natural consequent upon the public well-being.

The world is now in that stage in which it is only beginning to faintly recognize the infallibility of moral law, and the necessity of adherence to first principles; for, in all the affairs of life, the instances are rare of those who, having arrived at this conclusion, act up to it, in all its integrity, to the best of their ability. But where such instances do occur, what a remarkable influence they obtain over every department of life! And in this we again see that the difficulties we have to surmount are purely of a personal character, being the offspring of selfishness, from which emanate pride, sensuality, envy, acquisitiveness, and all that which is opposed to those common interests of mankind, on the support of which advancement is based.

What then are the most desirable results of life, and what is the course to pursue to attain them? It is evident that the gratification of selfishness is a temporary and evanescent

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enjoyment, which not only contributes nothing towards the good which is solid and permanent, but leaves behind it a sting which is not easily effaced; and that the laws of Christianity show that, whatever may be the desire of the individual, it is to be subject to the advancement of the race, and that being attained, it is reflected on himself in a way perhaps little anticipated, but probably great in proportion to the faith he has shown in those laws by the amount of his observance of them.

There can be no gratuitous reward for well-doing, for law is immutable. The conditions for cause and effect are absolute, and the only scope for love and mercy, to be compatible with these rigid conditions, is to be found in the doctrine of Christianity. Therefore, we are bound by law to acknowledge that we are not competent to declare what are the desirable results of life, beyond those which are compatible with what Christianity teaches us to seek. And we have only to consider what the effect of the subversion of that teaching would be, to realize the chaotic state of morality which would necessarily subvert all the highest and best of human institutions and turn every principle which we cherish into a meaningless absurdity, and the progression already achieved through its influence, into a wrong step, to be retraced, and its first principles ignored.

There can also be no intermediate course to pursue, for there is no chance of effecting the slightest compromise concerning the results of its smallest details. And we are doubly bound, for while physical law is recognized solely by the constancy of effect, not only is the whole code of moral law laid before us, but its certain effect foretold, and so far as we have yet experienced we find a thoroughly truthful consistency between the cause and effect as thus foretold. Therefore, we have no alternative but to accept moral law as a perfect basis for every condition of thought or action, and in doing so we need not trouble ourselves about consequences, for they are unalterable, our freedom of action not extending beyond the choice between right and wrong, each of which leads to unconditional conclusions over which we have no control.

But truthful as are the premises we still have the fact

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before us that they are accepted and acted upon by only a small minority of the human race. The question of the prime cause of evil and wrong-doing, has no place here. It is sufficient if the immediate one can be determined, for if, when determined, it can be counteracted, a break is effected in the continuity of effect which abrogates all previous cause, by determining its finality. This would be impossible if error were not an element in the question, but it is truth only which is incontrovertible.

The immediate cause then of all that is undesirable in life being man's infraction of, or non-compliance with, moral law, to what may it be attributed, and how may it be remedied? It is by no means characteristic of human nature, that, having a desirable object to attain, man tries to attain it by pursuing a wrong course, *knowing that course to be wrong*. Therefore, the chief feature in wrong doing must be ignorance; ignorance of cause and effect, of true principles leading to unerring conclusions, the lowest class of which is the ignorance of the savage, who knows of nothing worth attaining beyond the gratification of selfish desires. A more obstructive form of ignorance is that which—not being passive as the above—rejects authorized means, and follows its own course to attain selfish ends, and its possessor, through the force of the habit of self-indulgence eventually becomes effete in the power of discriminating between that which is true and that which is false. But the most deterrent ignorance—for it is accompanied by the germs of that from which there is so much to be hoped—is that of the highly gifted intellectual men, who, in the majority of instances, are moral men, but who, by some obliquity of perception, fail to recognize the true source of moral law, and credit their intellect with the invention of that which has been instilled into them by association with the facts established by the source which they ignore. An ignorance of the impotence of unaided intellect to arrive at the solution of the question of prime cause, and which fails to recognize intellect as merely an effect, an instrument of law, and purely a human attribute, having no *original* authority, solely a means by which unalterable law is conveyed to the understanding, and being human,

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not necessarily correct even in that capacity. But while admitting the necessity of an advanced intellect, as a means for the comprehension of the nature, and therefore of the furtherance of progression, its fallibility is shown whenever carried away by a false conception of its power. It attempts to lead instead of to follow the course of law, by fanciful expositions of a spiritual law, based upon premises which are not sanctioned by any authority. This, being false, is detrimental to progression by its influence on intellects of lower culture, which are led away by a showy but specious form of plausible ratiocination. History, from time immemorial, abounds in instances of highly cultivated intellects seeking, by philosophical research, the solution of the mysteries of our existence; but in no instance has any one of their theories obtained a permanent footing, save such part of it as might be consistent with the teaching of Christianity; and to a logical mind, which cannot do otherwise than admit that progression is a law of nature, a convincing proof of the truth of Christianity is its invariably eventual success as a progressive power.

If, then, the non-observance of moral law is the great bar to progression, and the chief cause of it is ignorance, it is evident that the education of the mind and the intellect towards the recognition of true principles, and also the education of the will towards the suppression and avoidance of whatever is inconsistent with those principles, is the proper course to take to obtain those general advantages which we too much accustom ourselves to seek exclusively for our personal benefit alone; and it is noticeable that in the teaching of Christianity, although the strict observance of moral law is strongly emphasized, it is only regarded as a means to an end. Universal love and charity are the main points for attainment, and self-abnegation, which is a first principle of morality is a necessity which must be first acquired.

The present struggle of humanity is towards this acquirement, and universal love and charity will be consequent upon the complete triumph of moral law over its physical estrangements, and it is probable that this may be the basis of a spiritual law of which we have now only a very faint

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conception; a law of too exalted a nature for the possibility of man's full compliance with it, until his utmost efforts have enabled him to fulfill the requirements of moral law, and, until released from the physical disabilities of his present and temporary condition by the dissolution of the ties which so strongly bind him to material considerations, he enters into a state of progression, of that order which has hitherto been the highest one conceivable by his limited comprehension, and which, through an eternity of time, may lead to a faint perception of the vastness of an organization which nothing but omniscience can fully realize, and which nothing but omnipotence can control.

ROBERT B. THOMAS.

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#### DR. R. HEBER NEWTON'S RATIONALISM.

*The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible.* By the REV. R. HEBER NEWTON, D. D. New York: 1883.

**T**HIS is certainly a remarkable and melancholy book. It is published amid a choice selection of French and English novels, Broad Church literature, a few classics, and a treatise on social etiquette. The author's name is the most curiously infelicitous that can be conceived. Its first part is that of the great missionary who gave up his life for the conversion of the heathen, whose views this writer has adopted; its second part that of the mighty philosopher who comforted his great life at its close by expounding and confirming the prophecies which his namesake here pronounces childish. What would the great missionary Bishop have thought on reading, as here, that "the Sacred Books of the East," as well as his own Bible, were the work of "holy men who spake as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST!"\* What would Newton, in whose comprehensive

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\* P. 231, C. vii.

mind dwelt the simple faith of a child, have said on being told by one who bears the echo of his name that "every prophet who goes beyond ethical and religious instruction, and ventures into predictions, makes mistakes and leaves his error recorded for our warning." "I believe I know of no one passage of the prophets," says Dr. Heber Newton, "which can certainly be said to point to any event beyond the near future of the writer."<sup>\*</sup> Something like chaos to the solar system, or "the vileness" of men, of which the sweet singer of "Greenland's Icy Mountains" speaks, compared with the fairness of nature, must this strange parody of the saint and the astronomer have seemed when thus prating of prophets who can never predict and of Buddha that already preaches the Gospel. Certainly quite as much in shame and sorrow as in indignation must any Christian man speak of the demerits of this bad book. It is as destitute of literary ability, wit or style as it is of theological learning or religious reverence, and he must be an indulgent critic who can pretend to find these latter excellences within its covers. It is simply a repudiation of the faith of Christians in the form of an attack on the Books of Holy Scripture, made up of undigested scraps of German rationalists (whose learning he has never mastered) and German and English philosophers, infidels, agnostics, and literary men who dabble in religious criticism. What the author has to say on the most important subjects that can occupy the attention of Christian layman or teacher is said without system or logic, or effort at anything like completeness or even the pretense of proof. What is much worse, the most serious things are said, or insinuated, or taken for granted, in a light and flippant way, which one is in doubt at times whether to consider as childish unconsciousness of the real gravity of the matter, or an airy *insouciance* which the author apparently thinks the proper thing in speaking to men of the world. His language, when any plain meaning can be safely extracted from it, undoubtedly means that he believes neither in Revelation nor Inspiration, in Miracle or Prophecy, according to the usual

\* P. 18, 97.

sense of those words in Christian theologians and in Christian literature; that he has just as little belief in our LORD'S Divinity, Atonement, Resurrection, as those words are understood by one in every million of intelligent Christians. Having perhaps learned in early life to substitute the Bible for the Church; when he has cast off the Scriptures he feels no authority over him, neither Bible nor Church, to which he is inclined to submit; and it is very likely that he can easily persuade himself that he is aggrieved if any one undertakes to call him to account.

We are well aware that a Church Review is not a Church Court; still, such charges must not be made even here without some measure at least of proof. Such proof, unhappily, is not hard to find in any part of the volume. If to any one the plea of mercy to the erring should seem a sufficient excuse for declining the odious and irksome task of collecting it, we would remind him that Dr. Newton does not hesitate to use the strongest, even the most vituperative language against other infidels—Ingersoll, for instance.\* It is quite likely that such an assault, should he ever hear of it, would be rather a source of amusement than otherwise to the coarse but shrewd sense of that truculent blasphemer, who would not be slow to perceive that such an adversary is already on his side. Dr. Newton's indignation against infidels is like an accomplice of wreckers, on shore after the wreck, sympathizing with those who are being robbed and murdered by his own confederates.

We propose to give a few illustrations and proofs of what we have said of Dr. Newton's style, teaching and tone. Perhaps it will be most suitable to say something of his style and tone before bringing forward the graver evidences of his unbelief and lapse from the faith. A man's character and meaning will often appear as plainly in his manner, or way of saying a thing, as in the thing said itself.

1. Dr. Newton's volume abounds in colloquialism, of which the following sentence, in his remarks upon the history of Jonah, may be taken as a specimen: "What was to become of preachers if, after they had threatened destruc-

\* P. 59, 60, Ch. ii.

tion upon evil-doers, *the Most High went back upon them thus?"*\* This passage, on the same subject, is conceived in what might be called the *jocular consolatory* style of one who proposes to remove difficulties in another's faith by simply removing that faith itself: "In his flight occurs the marvellous experience with the big fish that has troubled dear pious people who have read as literal history what is plainly legendary. *After this fabulous episode* the story takes up its ethical thread."† Without stopping to notice the characteristic confusion of *legendary* and *fabulous* (with such a writer such a distinction is of no account) it might be pertinent to ask this teacher of religion if he has ever gotten hold of the "ethical thread" of that Biblical story of the prophet who "taught lies in the name of the LORD?" and how much worse he thinks of him than of one who can make up his mind to teach the people that the very message he has sworn to believe and deliver, as from the LORD, is itself a mass of lies? We would seriously suggest to the writer that it is much easier for ordinary, old-fashioned Christians to believe that a fish swallowed Jonah than to conceive how any person who has solemnly sworn that he "unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament,"‡ and, being still in his senses, and holding the Sacred Office obtained by such a vow, could think he has a right to publish a book like "The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible." We are unable to imagine a more flagrant "wrong use" or abuse of the Bible, or of any book, than this.

We have given one instance of what we do not scruple to call a *vulgarity* in this writer's style, when speaking of what is certainly sacred, the acts of the Most High. What shall we say of a preacher who addresses his hearers in this way? "*Do not bother with theories of inspiration!*"§ He speaks to them, however, of "evanishing the real Bible" (intending to say, "causing the real Bible to vanish"), and of "the record of the visioning and embodiment of the

\* P. 56.

† P. 55.

‡ Office for Ordering Deacons, Prayer Book.

§ P. 263.

Human Ideal,"\* where no one but himself can pretend to know what he means. Similarly, he says, the prophets saw "the might of right," and dared "to vision its triumph,"† which, it is to be hoped, is something in their praise, though one cannot be very sure. Dr. Newton appears to be encouraged in these original efforts by the success of the late coinage of a verb out of the noun "voice," which he frequently adopts. Thus we have in one place, "voiced the worship,"‡ in another, "voicing such heathen imprecations in the XIX century."§ It may be worth while to say that this last expression occurs in a complacent account given by the author of his refusal, on a certain occasion, to unite with a brother clergyman in the recital of certain psalms appointed in the Psalter for that day; and this while he retains the office of clergyman, to which he had been ordained only after the solemn promise, amounting, under the circumstances, to a formal oath, that he would "diligently read all the same (Canonical Scriptures) unto the people assembled in the Church where you shall be appointed to serve."||

To proceed with the subject of style: Dr. Newton appears to take an almost childish delight in repeating a grammatical phrase with an application which he seems to consider peculiarly felicitous, and his own, since we think it occurs not less than a score of times in his little volume. The following is the first instance that meets our eye: "Religion grew through all moods and tenses toward perfection."¶ We cannot repress the conviction that had this extremely imperfect theologian been taught at the proper period by some rigorous pedagogue of the Dr. Busby type, a more radical respect for these philological realities, which he treats so airily, it would have had a salutary effect upon his thoughts on graver subjects.

Again, we read of "the religion of the Universal Church bodying round the Son of Man" (an expression which has about as much meaning as "the electricity of all connected thunder clouds materializing around an electric battery");

\* P. 76.

† P. 97.

‡ P. 8.

§ P. 86.

|| Ordination Office, Prayer Book.

¶ P. 135, ch. v.

and, again of the "disconnection of goodness and good fortune;"\* and, once more, that "woman's temperament seems peculiarly fitted for the inspirational influences of the pulpit" †—a statement by which this author by no means intends to convey any exalted estimate of preaching, but only his contempt for the opinion of a certain religious teacher, whom he slightly calls "Saul of Tarsus." It is a characteristic of the jargon, which the author thinks to be an expression of the illumination that far outshines Holy Scripture, to be extremely vague where every serious Christian thinks it incumbent to be as exact as possible, and to be very downright and absolute precisely where every true scholar would recommend modest caution and distrust. Let us give some illustrations of both these peculiarities. Is he quoting Scripture? At one time you might imagine that he intended to follow the Revised Version, at another, as in his treatment of Heb. xii. 26, 27,‡ that he tried to combine the Revised with the Authorized. In connection with this text from the Epistle to the Hebrews, we are favored with the astonishing information that "according to its root meaning 'learning' (*διδασκαλίαν*) is a 'shaking.'"§ Here again, we cannot but regret the absence of a Dr. Busby who might interrogate such a pupil as to the source of his information. A further examination will show us that, as in reference to Heb. i. 1, and Acts ii. 4, 6, 47, he quotes neither Authorized nor Revised Version, but a jumble of both.|| At length we shall reach the conclusion that he thinks it of no consequence to quote Scripture accurately at all. For instance: he seems to think "My joy I leave with you," to be found in S. John, xiv. 27. He is irreverent enough to bring forward as a text of Holy Writ the following abominable parody of S. Luke, i. 35. "The HOLY GHOST hath come upon thee, Humanity, and the power of the Highest hath overshadowed thee."¶ Every one knows the summary penalty that awaits the controversialist that indulges

\* P. 141.

|| Pp. 185, 248.

† P. 109.

‡ P. 12.

¶ P. 217.

§ P. 12.

himself in this loose style of sham quotation. Accordingly we find Dr. Newton when endeavoring to dispose by a withering criticism of a "young and eloquent Bishop" for a sermon on the mystical sense of the story of Rahab, displaying a disgraceful ignorance of the English text itself (Joshua ii. 15, 18) to which he refers.\* His sneer is at the thought "that the scarlet cord by which Rahab let down her visitors over the city wall was a type of the atoning blood of Christ." One feels ashamed at being compelled to point out that no one but Dr. Heber Newton, neither Bishop nor Sacred text, anywhere makes mention of any one let down over a city wall by a scarlet cord. He has confounded the stcut "cable" (as the Hebrew word means) with "the line of scarlet thread" (quite a different thing) by which Rahab was to cause her house to be identified in the coming siege. If, after this mortifying discovery, Dr. Newton feels inclined to hang himself, we recommend him to do it with a "scarlet thread."

If one should attempt to fix the wriggling lubricities of this theologian in any definite expression, we might reach the following unsatisfactory result. What, in plain English, does Dr. Newton think of the Bible?

The early portions of the Bible, nature-myths, social traditions, symbolical stories of casuistry, 'token tales,' whose original meaning had been lost by the time they were committed to writing.† The translation of this impossible hero (Samson) into the Semitic Hercules, a solar myth.‡ Around a traditional Daniel, famed for his wisdom and piety, and possibly upon an earlier document containing some tales of this sage and saint (some devout soul) wove a story which should interpret Jeremiah's prophecy and Jehovah's purpose. *Into his mouth he placed* predictions of what had already come to pass in history that thus (! ! !) his reputation as a prophet might be established. §

*Was there any Jewish Church?* There was no Jewish Church of which Dean Stanley wrote the history.|| Is there any revelation in the Bible? It records a real revelation. This revelation, however, denies no other revelation." Any inspiration? "These books are the products of a real inspiration. This inspiration, however, denies no other inspiration."¶

\* P. 99.

† P. 84.

‡ P. 90.

§ P. 156.

|| Pp. 63, 64.

¶ P. 77.

"Do you not think you are destroying all respect for Scripture?" By no means!

What if in these ancient writings there are ancient errors, the marvels which a child-age exaggerated into miracles, stories of savage cruelty and brutal lust in rude, rough times, acts of superstition, dark and dreadful utterances which to us are blasphemous, ascribed to the Eternal and Holy One?\*

(Then follows his unedifying castigation of Ingersoll). Have you any authority for your views of Jewish history? Yes! "Ewald, the Niebuhr of Jewish literature."† Anything else? Yes! The Acrostics in the Psalms and elsewhere, "the sure signs of a *flamboyant* and decadent literature."‡ (! !) What does it all signify? "The organic processes type the oncoming form of life."§ Christ's "throne really rests on a nation's growth of the human Ideal and Divine Image."|| What is your estimate of Christianity? "This religion of the Christ is the one religion which to-day holds the promise and the potency of further evolution."¶

It may seem ominous, but we will end these specimens of this author's loosely vague way by this characteristic repetition by him of the well worn formula of the British atheist and materialist. But now, on the other hand, Dr. Newton can be very definite on some points where a little vagueness would perhaps not be unbecoming. Do you understand the symbolism of Solomon's temple? "The symbolism of the Jerusalem temple was *thoroughly idolatrous* (!); as for example, the twelve oxen upholding the laver, and the horns of the altar—symbols drawn from the prevalent bull worship."\*\*\* Do you understand the book of Canticles? Perfectly. It came from the Northern Kingdom (Ewald says so). The Song of Songs "holds up to scorn the licentiousness that Solomon had made fashionable."††

The charming dogmatism with which this springall enemy of dogma and positive religion can thus point out the folly of Solomon's wisdom, at its best, and the idolatry

\* P. 59.

|| P. 101.

† P. 25.

¶ P. 73.

‡ P. 27.

\*\* P. 185.

§ P. 100.

†† P. 180.

of his religion at the very moment when he supposed himself most blameless in the worship of the one God, and the certainty with which he pronounces on the author and meaning of the mysterious book, so differently expounded in all ages, will suffice as illustrations of style and tone.

2. In giving these illustrations we have inevitably anticipated something of his teaching, if a writer or preacher of this calibre can be said to teach anything. His position is a thoroughly dishonest one; it has a peculiar two-fold dishonesty in it. He would have it thought that he belongs to those who by deep research and critical sagacity (he complacently talks of "our critical glasses"\*) have discovered such grave defects in certain of the Sacred Books and in parts of others, that they must be rejected from the Canon; though he has really advanced quite beyond this. He prefers, however, to assume the position of one defending a kind of sublimated essence, or residue, which he calls the Word of God, after tearing up and throwing away such books, chapters and verses as his critical sense rejects. And this position he pretends can be sheltered under the authority of the Book of Homilies, from which he takes the motto of his book.

We propose to examine first this defense, and next the position, which, though not his own, he tries insincerely to defend. If the Book of Homilies authorized the view he pretends, it would still be far from covering the enormities of his volume. He quotes then from the Homily on Holy Scripture, as the motto for his title page, the phrase, "In it *is contained* God's true Word." There could not be a more gross outrage upon the Book of Homilies than to pretend that this little phrase, culled from its first sentence, may be made an excuse for rejecting books, chapters, or the least portion of the Canonical Scriptures. It is perfectly easy to prove this. The very sentence from which the phrase comes is an assertion that "nothing can be either more necessary or more profitable than the knowledge of Holy Scripture." Not a dozen lines after, as if to cut off all subterfuge, occurs the trenchant passage:

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\* P. 27.

Let us diligently seek for the Will of Life in the books of the New and Old Testament, not running to the stinking puddles of men's traditions, devised by men's imagination for our justification and salvation. For in Holy Scripture is fully contained what we ought to do, and what to eschew, what to believe, what to love and what to look for at God's hands at length.\*

These serious words are worthy the attention of Dr. Newton, who has not only recommended the Scriptures of Brahmins and Mohammedans, along with what he calls, in the same breath, "Jewish," and sent us again and again to German rationalists and English unbelievers (Ewald, Hegel, Spencer, Emerson, Arnold) for the true meaning of the Scriptures; but, beyond this, has had the audacity to say to Protestants: "It is a wrong use of the Bible to set it in its entirety before all classes and all ages."† Dr. Newton has appealed to the Homilies and to the Homilies he shall go for judgment on this bold assertion. We take him to Homily XXII. which treats of the hard places of Holy Scripture. Let him mark well. "As CHRIST JESUS is a fall to the Reprobate, who yet perish through their own default, so is His Word, yea, *the whole Book of God*, a cause of damnation unto them through their incredulity." To leave not a loop hole for escape this same expression occurs twice immediately after: "His Word, yea the whole Scripture." "God's Holy Word, YEA EVERY WORD IN GOD'S Book."‡ This we think effectually disposes of Dr. Newton's attempt upon the Book of Homilies. We commend to him this sentence, also near those just quoted:

Let us earnestly take heed that we make no jesting-stock of the Book of the Holy Scriptures. The more obscure and dark the sayings be to our understandings, the further let us think ourselves to be from God, and His Holy Spirit, who was the author of them.

Doubtless this will seem to Dr. Newton very inferior to nineteenth century illumination. Still coming from his chosen guide, we commend it to him; as also the following: "If ye will be profitable hearers and readers of the Holy Scriptures, ye must first deny yourselves . . . Reason must give place to God's Holy Spirit; you must sub-

\* Book of Homilies, fol. Lond. 1766, Hom. 1, P. 7.

† P. 82.

‡ Hom. XXII, P. 229.

mit your worldly wisdom and judgment. Consider that the Scripture, in what strange form soever it be pronounced, is the Word of the living God." If our would-be theologian, instead of scoffing at the imprecatory Psalms, had set himself seriously to consider, and to answer if he can, such arguments in their behalf as are contained at the end of this same XXII. Homily, he would have been engaged in far more beconing work, from which benefit, and perhaps sympathy, might have come.

This outrageous attempt to pervert the plain meaning of the Homilies may serve as a warning to any who have felt inclined to trust Dr. Newton's account of what is in the Scriptures. But, as we have already intimated, even if the Homilies were as lax as this author would have us think, they would still be far from justifying his enormities. This author believes in neither revelation nor inspiration, in neither prophecy nor miracle, as the Christian world has hitherto understood those words. This doubtless seems a strange statement concerning a man who still persists in calling himself a Presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is nevertheless quite easy of proof. "The great prophets," says Dr. Newton, "made no claim to infallibility, or if they did, took pains to disprove it. [He is trying to explain why they constantly say, "Thus saith the Lord"]. Every prophet who goes beyond ethical and religious instruction, and ventures into predictions, *makes mistakes*, and leaves his errors recorded for our warning."\* We have already quoted his general denial of any prediction of the distant future by any prophet. Dr. Newton's idea of "ethical instruction" is the most unedifying with which we are acquainted, though we cannot say that he fails to illustrate it with continual examples in his own practice. A prophet who pretends to nothing in particular, though he keeps repeating "Thus saith the Lord," and who, whatever his pretensions, exposes himself by perpetual mistakes, is apparently a prophet after his own heart. Dr. Newton's language about miracles is in our judgment still more reprehensible.

Perhaps Elijah's axe did swim upon the water. I am prepared to believe almost anything after our spiritualistic mediums and their exposers. Whether it did or did not concerns me no whit. I shrug my shoulders and read on.\*

Here is a pretty ethical spectacle of a priest who has solemnly sworn before God and men, that he "unfeignedly believes all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament!" We have already quoted his unseemly ridicule of the history of Jonah, and of Samson, his general characterization of the historical Scriptures as "ancient writings" containing "the marvels which a child-age exaggerated into miracles." Still even after all this he thinks fit to write as follows:

In what is said above there is no positive denial intended of the Old Testament miracles. We are in no position to deny them. The point is simply *that they are not bounden on us* in any reasonable and reverent recognition of a real historical revelation in the Old Testament.†

Perhaps some one is curious to know what Dr. Heber Newton means exactly by "a real historical revelation." He has told us. "This revelation, however," he says, "denies no other revelation." "The mischievous antithesis between the realms of the natural and the supernatural disappears." "A supposititious revelation of miracle above the real revelation which is in nature and in man" is a "false bottom to men's faith."‡ This, we must allow, is plain language. The only difficulty about the matter is to understand why the man who uses it persists in saying that he believes in "Revelation," when his words would convey to most believers, and unbelievers too, a precise denial of that very thing. We cannot account for it except as the natural fruit of his peculiar "ethical" training.

It is quite needless, we think, to interrogate this author further as to his belief; to ask, for instance, if he believes in the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. We should only be put off with the same jargon: "The normal growth through history of the Ideal Man, is the incarnation of the Divine Man."§ We have a deep and heartfelt sympathy for the shock that would have been felt, we will not say by the

\* P. 91.

† P. 92.

‡ P. 77, 217, 43.

§ P. 217.

ancient Fathers or the great English divines, but by our own Seaburys and Hobarts, Wilsons and Chapmans, Ravenscroft and Doane, could they have suspected that unbelief would enter our branch of the Church Catholic under such passwords as this ghastly rubbish of "ideal" and "bodyings," "visionings" and "oncoming types." We believe no one would have felt more thoroughly disgusted and outraged by it all than Bishop McIlvaine.

We had intended to try and give some *genesis* of the disease which has proved so fatal to Dr. Newton, and, as physicians seek to make their worst cases instructive, to derive some instruction on the subject of Biblical criticism and interpretation, by some remarks on the whole subject, that might be of value to our younger theologians and students. But the length to which we have gone will forbid this attempt at present. It would be unfair, however, to charge the Evangelical school, with which Dr. Newton's name by ancestral associations is connected, with his aberrations. As a matter of fact, he makes very little use even of the lights of Broad Church, Maurice, Stanley, Griffith, etc., except to take mottoes from them. But he can take mottoes from Bishop Taylor, and à Kempis, with whose souls he has little in common. His real religious guides are Emerson, whom he calls "our great seer,"\* Matthew Arnold, whom he pronounces "the finest Biblical critic of England,"†(!) and to whom he sends us for the true meaning of the Epistle to the Romans;‡ Herbert Spencer, whose "books belong to the literature of knowledge,"§ Ewald, Max Müller, Göthe, Hegel, Horace Bushnell, Chadwick, whose remarks and phrases are much more frequently quoted. It is true that our author tries to convey the idea that, after profound research and reflection, the radical views of the great scholar Ewald have had a radical effect upon his own views of Jewish history. He ostentatiously calls Ewald "the Niebuhr of Jewish literature,"|| apparently to suggest that Ewald has done for the history of the Pentateuch what Niebuhr did for the traditions of the seven kings. Still we take leave to think that he really knows

\* P. 75.

† P. 227.

‡ P. 144.

§ P. 228.

|| P. 25.

very little of that able though erratic scholar's researches, either linguistic or historical. We will give one out of several reasons that suggest themselves for this opinion. Dr. Newton makes a great show of being convinced by Ewald of the later origin of Leviticus (after the captivity) and of the primitive character of the book Deuteronomy. Now the fact is well known to all Biblical critics (except Dr. Newton, whom we beg to refer to the Speaker's Commentary, as being perfectly easy of access), that Gesenius, de Wette, Ewald and Bleek unhesitatingly affirmed that Deuteronomy was written long after the rest of the Pentateuch. At the same time we do not deny that Ewald was capable, in a moment of pique, especially to emphasize his antagonism against his former master Gesenius, with whom he had quarreled, of turning about, and in company with Von Bohlen, Faber, Falke, George, Reuss, etc., espousing precisely the opposite opinion, (as the English Dr. S. Davidson did in successive editions of his "Introduction,") namely, "that Deuteronomy is more ancient than any other part of the Pentateuch."

This disaster of Dr. Newton, which might have been expected to happen to any Neophyte venturing into such troubled waters, is a fair illustration of the kind of help to be derived from the profound researches and speculations of German Biblical criticism. Theological or Scriptural truth and certainty are with them an unknown quantity, for the detection of which they have nothing analogous to mathematical methods. German methods have been very humorously and graphically pictured by one who after years of ardent following, became in age a good deal *disillusioned*. We refer to the late Mr. Carlyle and here present a small quotation from him:

Spiritual Atrophy, the flaccid Pedantry, ever rummaging and re-arranging among learned marine stores, which thinks itself Wisdom and Insight; the vague maunderings, fleetings, indolent, impotent, day-dreaming and tobacco-smoking of poor modern Germany.\*

Had space permitted we should like to have called atten-

\* Frederick the Great, B. III., c. 7, Vol. I., p. 200, Am. Ed.

tion to a few of the great and vital principles which can never be forgotten in any useful or fruitful study of the Inspiration, authority or criticism of Holy Scripture. Perhaps we may be indulged in briefly indicating a few of these.

Laying narrow technicalities aside, no view of the inspiration of the Bible is of any religious value or significance, which does not recognize the fact that this Book contains (as Lord Bacon says) the thoughts of God, as other books contain men's thoughts. Its unity lies simply in its Author, who from beginning to end, in various ways, by language and by symbols, by teachers of every kind, by prophecy, history, miracle, religious rites, individual experience, song, proverb, law, preaching, utters His own plan and purpose. Men are as likely to find difficulties in God's Book, which is His word, as in His works. It is indeed likely, as Bishop Butler has unanswerably shown, that difficulties and mysteries would emerge in the one similar to those in the other. That profound and just reasoner rightly maintains that this fact is really a confirmation of, rather than an objection to, Religion. But it is plain that no teacher who really believes in the Inspiration of the Bible could ever utter a general denial of the power to predict the future, or the possibility of a miracle. The God who there speaks and works has omniscience and omnipotence. He can put into man's imperfect language a sure prediction of the future event which may serve in time to come as a sign to faith, as easily as His power can put forth operations amid the present creation that may be an infallible sign to His intelligent creatures of the presence of their maker. Not less certain than the reality of prophecy and miracle is the substantial harmony of teaching through every part of the Inspired Book. The spiritual truths thus taught, whether directly, or by acted history and parable, or by symbol, are the Revelation of Holy Writ. It is either supernatural or nothing at all but the vague guesses, suggestions, searchings of all other books.

At first thought it might seem impossible that any sound mind could confound conceptions so radically distinct. It is certainly an interesting inquiry how it has come about that profound, serious, learned writers have spent their

days turning over the documents of Religion, speculating on their origin, arranging and re-arranging their contents, and yet not merely at the end, but all through their labors, profess to correct, amend, explain, systematize, receive a part and reject a part, precisely as they do the Sanscrit, or Greek, or Latin classics. They apply religious terms, catechisms, dogmas, theology, to the results of their labors, notwithstanding the fact that they evidently regard the thoughts with which they are engaged as the thoughts of men, and, not of God, in any peculiar sense, or in any sense not applicable to other writings.

We suppose that the element that has dropped out, and so rendered these abnormal processes possible, is that element vital indeed to every idea of religion, which we call authority. No religion was ever really embraced by the soul except on the belief that it came from God. Its truths are held, not because we have proved them, or discovered them, or feel their excellence or reasonableness, but because God has told them to us. He can speak to us directly; but His usual method of conveying to us gifts and privileges of all other kinds as well as the truths of religion, is by the agency of other beings, and they who are empowered to teach us religion are by this very fact invested with authority. And this teaching, like all valuable or thorough teaching is by personal communication. Books are an aid to this personal agency, but can never be a substitute for it. And yet the notion that a Book or a volume of collected books, every sentence of which was written by the act of God's Holy Spirit, and then sent forth to be circulated up and down the world, for all ages, sexes, conditions to find their religion by reading it, with as little external help as possible, is the conception of religion held by the Protestant world, the learned theologians of Germany included.

From so preposterous a theory many of the results that have followed might have been anticipated. The inquiring mind discerns first that the Book though called one, is, in fact, composed of many parts or books. It knows no reason why it should retain any one in the collection against its own sense of fitness, and the same cause that would im-

pel it to reject an entire book would also seem to justify it in throwing away the repugnant part of any book. If the destructive process in any of its stages happen to be discouraged by a learned and devout man or even by a series of such, like Neander, Olshausen, Stier, Hengstenberg, Kurtz, Auberlen, on the other hand it will find plenty of encouragement from an equally learned succession—Gesenius, Ewald, Baur, De Wette, Bleek, Von Bohlen, etc. To reconcile the various oracles of Rationalism with one another will not be found more difficult than it is often found to reconcile any one oracle, in his successive editions, with himself. It is affirmed that historically the first impulse of the German Rationalists can be shown to have come from the English Deists. In the present generation Germany has re-turned the stream back to England. The seven notorious essayists and reviewers reproduced German speculations with very little originality. The unfortunate Colenso, in his tedious volumes on the Pentateuch, tried to cipher out in a dull, mechanical way that savored more of the arithmetician or heavy merchant than of the scholar, some neological computations, that had not even the negative merit of the ability and originality of their authors. The conjectures, surmises, and hypotheses upon Old Testament history put forth by Professor Robertson Smith, and with great patience, ability, and, we think, success, followed and answered by Professor Green in the *Presbyterian Review* last year, we venture to think do not bring forward a single point that would present the least novelty to one acquainted with German theologians of the last fifty years; though it would be a tedious and unprofitable task to verify this statement point by point. The repetition of a guess by a dozen people does not add a particle of evidence to history; nor do we think that even the occurrence of the same guess to several ingenious minds, who surrender themselves to the charms of conjecture, adds anything of value to the probability of historical facts. The classical fables of the Danaides and of Sisyphus punished in Hades, or of Saturn devouring his own offspring, we think more fitly represent the real worthlessness of such endless toils. Or, without going so far, Mother Goose precisely tells us the

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sagacity and advantage of the Rationalist's critical labors in her lively aplogues of the man and the bramble bush, and the King of France and his twenty thousand men. Or, recurring to Mr. Carlyle's humorous comparison, if our friends prefer it, the rummaging and re-arranging of marine stores will never add a particle of fresh provisions to the ship.

People of real religion, believers in Revelation, must endeavor to reach a safer and more sensible view of the nature of Holy Writ, and to make up their minds, by the way, to despise silly outcries of alarm, like, for instance, the mad-dog cry of "Popery!" God's Word, or Revelation to man, was not a big composite book, written or printed and then thrown by itself upon the world. God's Revelation was a Kingdom or Church set up at the beginning, long before a page of the Scriptures, either of the Old Testament or of the New, was written. The Scriptures bear the same relation to the Kingdom of God as the written laws or statutes bear to an earthly kingdom, some of whose laws are unwritten. The laws of every great government are interpreted by itself through its judicial officers appointed to guard and interpret them. No citizen was ever allowed to be the sole judge of the laws that apply to his own affairs. This very absurdity, and even greater anomalies than this, are implied in the common Protestant notion about the Bible. This venerable volume is, in fact, the Constitution and Book of Statutes of the Kingdom of God, given by degrees throughout the whole of its mighty history—which has far outlasted every earthly dominion—and containing along with laws and worship and ritual, history, precedent, instruction by precept and example, prophecy and ethical principles. It would seem impossible that any sensible mind, not disturbed by prejudice, though very slightly acquainted with the contents of this wonderful Book, could dream that it has any right to oppose any private view of the leading outlines of its history and doctrine to the traditional interpretation of the mighty kingdom, whose possession and Statute Book it is. Such a claim is like the impertinence of a Communist or *doctrinaire* standing up in an English or American court and bringing charges of ig-

norance and radical error against Coke and Littleton, Blackstone and Mansfield, Story and Kent. It is not an endless labor to possess one's self of all that may really be known of the number and value of the MSS. of the Old and New Testament. It is an accomplishment whose importance can hardly be over-estimated in a religious teacher, to have a personal and familiar knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek tongues. The linguistic skill and sagacity of a Gesenius or an Ewald may be most thankfully acknowledged and profitably used. Doubtless their very conjectures and hypotheses deserve great respect from inferior scholars. But we do not hesitate to pronounce it a gross and monstrous abuse of their high gifts and attainments, and even liable to bring their very excellences into discredit, to affect to reconstruct out of their own brains the Jewish history in utter defiance of all the traditions of the Jews themselves. The individual authors of these monstrous theories attempt to escape responsibility and exposure by perpetually shifting their ground and modifying their hypotheses. When driven to bay and asked for proof of some particular enormity, they may not resort to such blasphemy as Ewald is reported to have uttered to an inquirer, that he has "received his knowledge from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost,"\* but if they speak truly they will have to own that their startling statements rest after all on nothing more solid than guess work, while nothing short of a new Revelation could really justify them. The disgusted student of Rationalism is constantly rewarded after wearisome toil with the miserable discovery that the dogmatism, the contradictions, the unfounded assertions which the great oracles of unbelief impute to theology and theologians and orthodoxy, are, in fact, nowhere more abundant and flagrant than in their own criticisms and reconstructions of the Sacred History and Exegesis.

Let the rising generation of young men in the theological schools learn to detect and to despise this affectation and parody of real learning. We do not shrink from saying that no linguistic genius, however shining, no historical

\* See, "Dr. Pusey on Daniel," Int. P. lxix.

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scholar, whatever his attainments, is to be heard for an instant, who thinks he knows the history or the doctrine contained in the Bible better than the Church of God. History cannot be constructed out of the inner consciousness. If neither the Jewish nor the Christian Church knows who wrote the Pentateuch, we shall never know it except by a new Revelation. Certainly we shall never learn it from Ewald. We advise those who desire to become teachers of religion rather to listen to a greater genius, Pascal, who joined to an acuteness, never surpassed, humility and holiness equally admirable, and found in the Jew's preservation of their own traditions and of their sacred books, a proof sufficient to establish our religion, were every other evidence removed from view.

GEORGE W. DEAN.

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### FASTING COMMUNION:

WITH A COROLLARY ON THE MAUNDY-THURSDAY CELEBRATION.

*The Duty of Fasting Communion*, a sermon. By F. N. OXENHAM, M. A. London: 1873.

*Fasting Communion*. Historically investigated from the Canons and Fathers, and shown to be not binding in England. By the Rev. HOLLINGWORTH TULLY KINGDON, M. A., 2d edition. London: 1875.

*Evening Communions Contrary to the Teaching and Practice of the Church in all Ages*. By Rev. H. P. LIDDON, with notes and a postscript on some points in Mr. Kingdon's work on Fasting Communion (by W. B.,) 2d edition. London: 1876.

*Manual of Instruction for Classes Preparing for First Communion*. By the Rev. FERDINAND C. EWER, D. D. New York: 1882.

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*The Private Prayer Book*, Compiled by a Parish Priest.  
New York: 1882.

*The Christian Year Kalendar*, 1883. New York.

**I**N a Church weekly, designed to instruct the young, there appeared, some three years since, a story on "Reverence." It is too long for insertion here. The substance of it was this:

Two young people, on their knees in Church, are discovered to be talking cheerily to each other. Their attitude of reverence was a mockery and a sham. Then follows the narrative of a case of "*true* reverence." An old Irish lady, living a mile from Church, for seventy years a communicant, persisted in her habit of rigid fasting, taking "not a mouthful of food till after reception of the Blessed Sacrament," at a mid-day celebration. She was old and infirm, and often would fall by the way through weariness and weakness, and so make herself "bruised and lame." She would be two hours on her fainting and painful journey, resting on many a door-step, but persisting in her life-long habit. "I never would eat anything before I partook of the Holy Food, and I am too old to begin to do it now." And this simple-hearted devotion of the old lady to her idea is commended as an example of "*true* reverence surpassing that of a great majority of Church people of this day."

A clerical brother of a distant Diocese, some two years since, excused himself from assisting at the Holy Communion because, traveling as he was for his health, he had by order of his physician, taken his breakfast, and so could not receive. The sermon named at the head of this article was among the first, of many little tracts, manuals, and essays that have lately appeared, in which this duty of a rigid fast before Holy Communion has been asserted. "*No food or drink: to be taken from midnight till after reception.*" This is exalted into a law, declared to have been a universal custom from the Apostle's days, binding on the conscience now. Mr. Oxenham says to communicate after food "is something God has forbidden." Others speak of it as a great offence, if not a mortal sin. The three *libella*, whose

titles are last named above, state the duty, as it is called, in milder words, but in full positive terms. "It was the reverent custom of the Church from the Apostles' times, and in all parts of Christendom, for the first 1500 years, to receive only fasting." \* \* \* "The *universal custom*, \* \* \* reiterated Canons of the Church appeal to us with very solemn and binding force." *Ewer*, p. 84: "For the sake of deep reverence to the Blessed Sacrament of CHRIST, you will not receive it except as fasting from midnight, and before earthly food has passed your lips, unless your health require otherwise. *This is the rule of the Universal Church*," *Private Prayer Book*, pp. 163, 164. "It was the *universal law of the best and purest days* of the undivided Church." "It must be borne in mind that the Church of England has *never* repealed the law which binds her priests and people \* \* \* *never* to communicate otherwise than fasting, and what we mean by fasting in this case is *total abstinence* from every kind of food or drink, *even in the very smallest quantities*, from the preceding night. Persons dangerously sick are the only ones in whose favor any relaxation is permitted," etc., etc. *The Christian Year Kalender*, pp. 78, 80 (Italics ours).

Such teachings, persistently set forth, are having some effect. There is here a sweeping positiveness of assertion that is amazing. The general practice of *this* Church is arraigned and condemned, as if there was, and could be no dispute. No wonder tender consciences are troubled, and hearts made sad, and existing customs of the Church brought into contempt and neglect. For, if these men are right, most of our communicants must violate the rule, or turn the weekly feast into a fast-day, with great physical weariness, and distraction to many, and positive injury to some. Is this the reasonable service our Master requires? Must His command, "Do this in remembrance of Me," become so painful, or else be neglected, because His Holy Supper is not prepared before breakfast? Or is it one of those ordinances of men, of which our dear *Lord* might say, "Why do ye transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?"

It was our happiness for ten years in a Southern city to

have a full attendance at 7 A. M. every day in Lent. On Sunday it was usually a Eucharistic service, and at the sweetest of all hours. But very many did not come; some could not, because of home duties, or because the walk and the time spent before breakfast made them ill. Physicians averred that some constitutions could not endure the fasting attendance and the early exposure. Many persons who began Lent zealously were obliged to forego the early service altogether, and especially as the warm spring opened. To many communicants our advice was to take some food first, and if that did not prevent faintings and headaches, not to come to the Communion till a later hour.

Bishop Kingdon\* says, well; "Anything that disturbs devotion and earnestness detracts from due reverence." "If real reverence be desired, some are compelled to obviate extreme distraction and anxiety by some slight partaking of food." Our observation and experience are that this is true of very many persons, even when Holy Communion is celebrated at a very early hour; and that *most* persons will feel this uneasiness and distraction and painful weariness if they attempt to fast till midday. It seems not to have occurred to those who think that in so doing they follow the early Church, that there was a rule, often declared and abundantly witnessed to, forbidding to turn Sunday into a fasting day (see page 30).

Our counter propositions are:

- 1st. That such fasting communion *is not*, but quite the contrary *is*, intimated in Holy Scripture.
- 2d. That there is no evidence that for 390 years of the

\*The author of "Fasting Communion historically investigated," etc., is now Bishop-Coadjutor of Fredericton, N. B. The Rev. Wm. Adams, D. D., in the March number of the CHURCH REVIEW, says of this work: "It is one of those books of which the English Church has been so productive—books full of original learning, and investigation, and honest zeal for the truth, and yet they are not and cannot be popular. Such works strike and decide it may be only one point, but that is settled for all time, and men know it." He ranks it with such books as "Laud's Reply to Fisher," "Butler's Analogy," and "Faber on Election." To this we heartily assent. It is, however, too solid and exhaustive a book to keep its place before the common eye. We seek to recall attention to it as to a *work that has NEVER BEEN ANSWERED.*

Christian era, *any* rule for fasting communions was ever formulated in any part of the Church.

3d. That there is no proof that for 1,000 years of the Christian era *such* fasting communion was a universal custom.

4th. That the canons cited in support of it are late, few, of doubtful interpretation, and of local application; and not one of them of ecumenical force.

5th. That "fasting," in the writings of early centuries, did not mean what has of late been asserted.

I. First, as to Holy Scripture. It is hardly necessary to enumerate the occasions. The Institution, the breaking of bread at Emmaus, S. Luke xxiv, (if, indeed, it was a Eucharistic act at all); S. Paul's breaking bread at Troas, Acts xx: 7, 11; the disorderly celebrations at Corinth; all accompany and follow the reception of food. S. Paul tells the Corinthians *to eat at home* if they be hungry (*i. e.*, *before they leave home*), so as not to come together to condemnation.

In regard to Acts xx., 7, Dr. Liddon suggests as possible, that they came together at sunset, Saturday; "the first day of the week," according to Hebrew computation, beginning then; and that "the breaking bread," being after midnight, was *an early communion on Sunday morning*. He does not press the point. It will not bear pressing. Nothing but the Apostle's eloquence, and the fact that it was his farewell, kept the meeting till after midnight. Ordinarily they would get through long before that hour. It indicates a custom.

Whitby, and the writer in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, and others, think the "breaking of bread," Acts ii, 42, 46, indicates the free, joyous hospitality of those early days. But the weight of exegetical opinion, including not only our great divines, but also Calvin, Bengel, Mosheim and Olshausen, is in favor of a technical sense, referring to the sacramental "breaking of bread." One passage, 1 Cor. x., 16, bears this way: "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of CHRIST?" And in the next chapter (xi.) is the account of their disorderly practices at this sacramental feast.

This exhausts the Scripture argument, except as 1 Cor. xi. 34, "the rest will I set in order when I come," is made to sustain a vast amount of inference, as to a custom of fasting communion then established by the Apostle, and thence becoming universal and so perpetuated. This vast amount of inference may, like an inverted pyramid, rest on this one small base, *if* the custom be primitive and universal. To this question we next turn.

II. No rule for fasting, as a preparation for Holy Communion, as far as any one knows, was ever formulated till A. D. 393. No trace of any earlier rule exists. There was some talk, 250 years ago, about a lost Nicene Canon. No one rests any weight on it now. It arose from one misunderstood word, in a speech made by two Moorish Bishops in a council at Carthage in A. D. 419.\* Bishop Kingdon's argument is simply unanswerable.

III. Universal primitive custom. Pliny's letter to Trajan, A. D. 104 or 106. While pro-prætor of Bithynia, he, by torture, obtained from two deaconesses a sort of confession of what was done at the secret service of the Christians. He wrote thus to the Emperor:

On a stated day they are wont to meet, before daylight, to pray responsively to Christ as God, *to bind themselves by oath* not to commit any wickedness, not to steal, etc. These things being done, it is their custom to go away and come back again to take food together—a kind of common harmless meal.

It is, we think, generally admitted that Mosheim's opin-

\* The passages: *De Fide Nicæni tractatus audivimus; verum et de sacrificiis inhibendis post prandium, ut a jejunis, sicut dignum est offerantur, et tunc et nunc confirmatum est.* "We have heard about the faith of the Nicene Council, and also about prohibiting Eucharists after luncheon (or dinner); that they should be offered only by fasting men as is right; it was confirmed both *then* and *now*." At Councils in those days, the Nicene Creed was read and reaffirmed as the faith of the Church. At the Council canons of previous Councils in Africa also were read and approved. The language of the Moorish Bishops showed they had the Canon of Hippo in mind. Both then and now, *tunc et nunc*, means at Hippo, and now at Carthage. "W. B." in his strictures on Bp. Kingdon's book, says: To connect those words with the preceding as if the *enactment were Nicene*, is absurd enough, and the *tunc*, as Mr. Kingdon says, clearly refers to the Council of Hippo. See "Evening Communion," etc., p. 39.

ion is correct, that the Lord's Supper was, in connection with the love-feast, a part of their worship when they came back again. The many allusions to their *agapae*, the controversy as to whether they preceded or followed the Eucharist seem clearly to confirm this view. Bingham says, Bk. xv., c. vii., § 7:

They observed no certain rule; but had their feast sometimes before, sometimes after the Communion, as it appears to have been in some measure in the following ages.

But a controversy has grown up about a Latin word in the above extract, "to bind themselves by oath," etc. The Latin is "*se sacramento obstringere*." Bingham, Dr. Liddon, and others say that the phrase should be "they are wont \* \* \* to pledge themselves in the sacrament." But aside from the fact that as far as we know all of the older translations of Pliny's letter give to *sacramentum* its classical meaning, *a sacred oath*, it may be questioned whether at this time it had become a theological term. Greek was the language of the Christian writers. The two tortured Greek deaconesses could hardly have used Latin. It was Pliny's word, and is to be understood in its usual acceptance among Latins.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 140 or 150, is the next and the first Christian writer cited by Dr. Liddon. And yet Justin Martyr says *not one word* that bears on the subject of an evening, or of a fasting communion. One inexact rhetorical passage only is quoted about "the food blessed by the Word of God, being no longer common food, but the very flesh and blood of Him, the Incarnate JESUS." And this is quoted to indicate that this awful mystery could not have been what some, Dean Stanley, for instance, have made it—a mere appendage to a common evening meal. Dr. Liddon *seems to cite* Justin as on his side, in regard to morning communions. Justin nowhere says a word that indicates the time of day when their Eucharist was held.

Tertullian, the first Latin Father, A.D. 200, is next cited. Three quotations are made by Dr. Liddon. The first does not touch *our* question. The second quotation is about the hardships of the Christian wife of a heathen man. He asks,

“Will not the heathen husband accuse you of using magic art, when you rise at midnight to pray? When you cross yourself? Will he not know what you taste before all food? *Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes?*” Dr. Liddon contends that this means that she took the Sacrament before *any other food* on the day in which she communed. But *ante omnem cibum*, is *before all food*, *i. e.*, before every reception of food; or it may mean *in preference to all other food*; as when Cicero says, “*te ante me diligit*,” “he loves you *more than me*.” Tertullian says nothing to indicate the time of day. As a translation Dr. Liddon’s is the least strict. The practice of receiving the sacrament, carrying it home and taking it privately, self-administered, was a prevalent one in Tertullian’s day. “Before all meals,” is the likeliest translation.

The next quotation from Tertullian is urged by Dr. Liddon with great earnestness, *De Corona*, xiii., 3. “*Eucharistiae sacramentum \* \* \* in tempore victus \* \* \* mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus \* \* \* sumimus.*” Words and phrases introducing other ideas are here left out for the sake of clearness and conciseness. Dr. Liddon contends that *etiam* should be rendered *even*, and thence would claim this passage as evidence of universal, exclusive usage. But whether it be translated *even* or *also*, it cannot be so exclusive. Tertullian is contending for the obligation on private observance, of customs and usages, even if in minor particulars they deviate from Apostolic or even Divine example. He speaks of changes made in the accompaniments of baptism; the disowning of Satan, the trine immersion, the tasting of honey and milk at the baptism, and the abstinence of one week from the bath. Then of the Eucharist: “We *also* take,” or “we take *even*” before daylight the sacrament of the Eucharist, which the **LORD** commanded to be eaten at meal-time.” Then he speaks about offerings for the dead, on the anniversary of their birth or death, then about not deeming it lawful on Sunday, Whit-Sunday, or Easter, to fast or to kneel in worship; and then about crossing themselves when going out or coming in, when dressing or bathing, or eating or put-

ting on their shoes, or lighting lamps, etc., etc.\* Now, out of this congeries of customs, to be observed in Tertullian's age and country, because they *were* traditions and customs, although not enjoined, and even variations from what was enjoined, it does seem a great strain to select one, and thence to claim for it universal and exclusive usage, and by inference, Apostolic origin and binding obligation. *Per contra*, might we not *claim this whole passage, Eucharistic change and all*, good for what it is worth, for obligation to conform quietly to usages and customs, and take the sacrament of the Eucharist instituted at meal-time by our LORD, when it is offered to us, before dinner *also*, or *even* after breakfast?

Whenever danger menaced the Christians they would meet very early, while yet dark, and have their Holy Communion, and take home by permission (sometimes at least) the consecrated elements, to communicate themselves in private, and without a thought of establishing *a rule in either practice* for the whole Christian world. This line of thought disposes of Dr. Liddon's next authority, in a quotation from Cyprian, A. D. 250. The Decian persecution was raging. Devotional and Eucharistic assemblies were held before daylight (though we never imagined any one thought that nowhere in the empire was there ever any daylight service). The Aquarii, *i. e.*, the water-men, used only water in their early celebrations, and then at a service after dark (whether Eucharistic or not is a disputed point), introduced, as kind of a make-up a mixed chalice of wine and water. Cyprian writes to Caecilius, Epis. Ixii. (Ox. ed. Ixiii.). The epistle is quoted in favor of the mixed chalice. He gives some fanciful reasons, and seems to teach that the absence of the water is as serious a want as the absence of the wine. He insinuates that fear of detection, through the smell of the wine in their breath, was the reason why the Aquarii used water alone in their early celebrations.

\* Can we imagine that in this gathering together of departures from primitive usage, Tertullian would have failed to say the Eucharist, which was at first given by our LORD to His Apostles after supper, we take before any other food, if such had been either the rule or the universal custom?

He gives some good reasons for the change from evening to morning, and claims Apostolic origin. "We celebrate in the morning," is his language. But he says not a word as to the hour, nor about fasting as a rule for reception. Some make him say "*in the very early morning.*" But the word is simply *mane*, in the morning, as opposed to the evening.

We have now referred to every Ante-Nicene authority that is cited by Dr. Liddon. He is contending against "Evening Communions," and only indirectly for Communion so early as to imply strict fasting. Anything in favor of such fasting Communion would greatly strengthen his argument. We may safely conclude then, that nothing can be said further to establish the fact of such a custom anterior to A. D. 325. Bingham says, indeed, that in Tertullian's time "the Communion was always received fasting." He does not give any authority beyond what we have examined. He is a very learned author, but often confounds places and dates; even he admits that the custom was not universal "*in the following ages.*" Indeed, Bingham, in the passages already quoted (Book XV., c. vii, 57), contradicts himself when he says of the agape of the primitive Church, that it was held "*sometimes before, sometimes after* Communion, as it appears to have been in some measure in the following ages."

Dr. Liddon passes at once over a period of 150 years to S. Augustine, A. D. 402. His article was first printed in 1860 in the *Christian Remembrancer*. W. B. (Canon Bright of Oxford) reproduced it in tract form in 1876, with notes and a postscript containing a few strictures on Bishop Kingdon's work. W. B. is an advocate for a strictly fasting Communion. He cites four authorities that Dr. Liddon had omitted. 1st. S. Basil, A.D. 375, "A priest can do nothing without fasting;" so general as to prove nothing. 2d. Rufinus about the same time visits Egypt and finds two Abbots who used to take no corporal food till they had received the spiritual food of the Communion of CHRIST. Hardly noteworthy if a universal thing. 3d. Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria, about the same time, is asked whether one who is fasting in order to communicate, and who

should inadvertently swallow a little water, should be allowed to receive. A mere case of discipline, perhaps self imposed. The question was whether he had so failed in his rigid rule of preparation as to be disqualified to receive. But this is the case of one fasting in order to communicate. Nothing said about *all* communicants fasting in order to communicate, and that from midnight. It was an exceptional case. 4th. S. Ambrose A. D. 374.

The fast has been proclaimed; take heed, neglect it not. *If hunger is forcing you to take daily luncheon or dinner, or if lack of self-restraint declines the fast, yet keep yourself all the more for the celestial banquet.* Do not let the feasts prepared force you to be empty of the heavenly food.

We cannot agree with Bishop Kingdon in saying that S. Ambrose means, "If you are really unable to keep the fast, and are driven to eat luncheon (or dinner), yet, nevertheless, take Communion." We must admit that S. Ambrose advises his people to resist appetite and forego the luncheon. The Latin of the passage in Italic is, "Si te fames quotidianum cogit ad prandium, aut intemperantia declinat jejunium, tamen coelesti magis te servate convivio." There is a struggle between inclination and the Lent discipline. "Neglect not the fast," says S. Ambrose, and then adds, "put it off a little while," *i. e.*, the luncheon, not the Sacrament.

But while thinking that S. Ambrose meant this we note two things: 1st., he is speaking of a proclaimed Lenten fast, an Ecclesiastical fast, a fast which varies in length and severity according to the judgment of the ecclesiastical authority that imposes it. He is advising his people to keep the fast thus proclaimed. But not a word about a rigid fast for all, on all occasions, from midnight. For 2dly, observe S. Ambrose says not a word about breakfast, *jentaculum*. It is *prandium*,\* the luncheon or early dinner. This abstained from, they are in a fasting condition and ready for the Holy Communion. Let us bear this in mind as we

\* *Prandium* is translated by W. B. "*the morning meal.*" It is a misleading translation. The reader would understand breakfast. But *prandium* is, according to Ainsworth, *dinner, the midday meal*, at 11-12 o'clock. W. B. makes the same mistake in the translation of the next passage from S. Augustine.

come to the one great stock quotation from S. Augustine, A. D. 402. It is as follows:—Ep. iv.

It is very apparent that when the disciples first received the Body and Blood of the Lord they did not receive fasting, yet does any one now blame the Universal Church because it is always received by fasting men? For so it pleased the HOLY GHOST that, for the honor of so great a sacrament, the LORD'S BODY should enter into the mouth of a Christian *before* other food. And therefore this custom is observed throughout the whole world. Nor, because the LORD gave it *after food*, ought the brethren on this account to come together to receive the Sacrament, *having just dined or supped, (pransi aut coenati)* or mix it up with their tables as they did whom the apostle blames and corrects. \* \* \* But a certain laudable reason has pleased some, that on one certain day in the year in which the LORD gave the supper itself, as if for a more significant commemoration, it might be lawful for the Body and Blood of the LORD to be received *after food*.

We take the liberty to *italicise* some words to emphasize the contrast between the expressions, *before* food and *after* food. It might be as accurately expressed *before a meal* and *after a meal*. There is not a word in this whole letter of S. Augustine's hinting at the idea of before *any food* on any given astronomical day. "Our LORD instituted the LORD'S Supper *after a supper*; that is no reason why men should now receive it *after dinner or after supper*, contrary to the custom of the Church, which is, that the LORD'S Body should enter the mouth of a Christian *before* other food, not after it or mixed with it." This is S. Augustine's argument. The custom was, communion before the *prandium*—call it lunch or dinner; it was the first heavy meal of the day, and taken at eleven o'clock or after. He affirms it a custom of the Universal Church. We do not doubt it, and we are willing to admit that this change was early made and in deference, probably, to an Apostolic ruling. But the point here, too plain to be missed, is that men, *non-pransi* or *non-coenati* are *the fasting men* in S. Augustine's mind: and he is in accord with S. Ambrose.

This conclusion is confirmed by the consideration of the whole letter. It was written to a certain Januarius about the different customs on Maundy Thursday, and the way some people broke their Lenten fast. The fact that the Eucharist was instituted *after supper*, seems to have been an excuse with some for having a feast before Holy Com

munion on this day. The question that agitated the mind of Januarius was, not the propriety of the Holy Communion after a meal, but whether it was right so to break the *Lenten Fast*. Bear all this in mind, then weigh well these words of S. Augustine which follow on in immediate connection with the quotation above. "But I think it more becoming that this be done (*i. e.* the administration of the Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday,) at such an hour that one who shall have kept his fast may come to the oblation before\* the refraction which comes at three o'clock." And now note what follows right on in immediate connection. "For this reason we compel no one to take luncheon (or dinner) before *that* Lord's Supper† but on the other hand, we can forbid none."

There is one other quotation of the same date, urged by the advocates of fasting communion, viz: one from S. Chrysostom, A. D. 404. It is wielded with stunning force, as if it were indeed a settler. This is the way it is put in *The Christian Year Kalendar*, 1883, p. 78.

We are not surprised to find S. Chrysostom in the fourth century (fourth year of the fifth century, it should be) indignantly replying to those who had accused him of having given the Eucharist to people who were not fasting. ("After they had eaten" is the right wording). If I have done any such thing let my name be blotted out of the roll of Bishops, nor be inscribed in the book of the Orthodox faith. Since, lo! if I have done any such thing CHRIST also will cast me out of His Kingdom.

There the quotation stops. We go right on:—

But if they once say this to me, and are contentious, let them degrade Paul who, *after supper*, baptized a whole household; let them degrade the

\* I accept *ante* instead of *post* as the probable reading. To my mind it is more easily understood. The question was: Shall a man take a meal before Communion? S. Augustine thinks it better so to arrange it as to allow one to come on that day *after* taking *prandium*, (call it luncheon or dinner), and another who did not think best to take it, to receive Holy Communion before the three o'clock refreshment.

† It seems to me rather presumptuous to question Bishop Kingdon's accuracy. He says that "*that* Lord's Supper" means the Maundy Feast before the Eucharist. But the previous sentence says the Lord instituted *ipsam coenam*, "*the supper itself*," *i. e.* original Lord's Supper *after* food. Before "*that* Lord's Supper," therefore *i. e.* the Lord's Supper on that day. S. Augustine says, we can forbid none to take his *prandium*.

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LORD Himself who gave the Communion to the Apostles *after supper*. (Epis. cxv.)

In a sermon of his, just as he was banished, we learn that his enemies charged him with *baptizing* after eating. He repels that charge in much the same language. Note now, First, that "*after supper*" twice used in his defence, corresponds to "*after they had eaten*" in the charge; *i. e.*, *after a meal*. Second, if he had baptized or communicated after a meal, it was not in itself wrong. And so, Third, the inevitable inference is that there must have been a Church law that Baptism and the Eucharist should not follow upon a set meal, which S. Chrysostom was bound to keep, and his enemies charged him with violating. Hence his indignant and high sounding disclaimer.

So S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine, and S. Ambrose are in accord about the relation of "*prandium*," call it luncheon or dinner, and *coena*, supper or dinner, to the Holy Communion; and of the fasting condition of those who had abstained from the set meal, and neither of them says one word to intimate the existence of a rule or a custom, universal or local, *of such entire abstinence before Communion*, as they have been so often and so confidently cited to prove.

IV. As to Canons, there is little worth discussing. First, *Laodicea*: a Council of 32 Bishops in Phrygia, so obscure that we are not sure whether it was held in A. D. 314 or 399. Its cited 49th and 50th Canons say *nothing* on our subject, except to direct no Eucharist to be offered in Lent save on Saturday and Sunday, and that men should fast on Maundy Thursday just as on any other day of Holy Week, "*eating only dry food*." Second, *Nice*, A. D. 325. Its supposed lost Canon is already disposed of. (See p. 36.) Third, *Hippo*, A. D. 393. "That the Sacraments of the Altar be not celebrated save by *fasting* men, one anniversary day being excepted on which the *Lord's Supper* was instituted; for if the commendatory of any dead persons, whether Bishops or others, must be held, let it be done with prayers only, if those who hold it (*pransi inveniuntur*) are found to have dined or lunched." The commendatory was a mortuary service with Holy Communion. If the celebrants had *taken their prandium* they must use prayers alone. Of

course if they had *not dined*, they could administer the Holy Communion; consequently they were ecclesiastically considered, among the *fasting* men of the first sentence. A strong and curious confirmation of this view is brought out by Bishop Kingdon, pp. 75 and 76, in his examination of the Canons passed by a French provincial council held at Mâcon in A. D. 585, "In the Canons issued by them, was one about the fast before the Communion, which is as follows: *Item*, we decree that no presbyter stuffed with food, or drunken with wine, presume to handle the sacrifices, or to celebrate Mass on private or festal days, for it is not proper that bodily food be placed before spiritual \* \* \*. And then the Canon of Mâcon quotes the Canon of Hippo, about *fasting* men, and the Maundy Thursday exception." The Bishop's conclusion is irresistible. "It was excess that was aimed at, especially as we see the Canon pointedly adopts Communion after a meal on Maundy Thursday."

There was another very small local French council at Auxerre, one Bishop, 7 Abbots, 34 priests present, which forbids any ecclesiastic even *to be in church if he have broken his fast*.\* Then two even smaller Spanish councils at Braga, A. D. 560 or 563 and 572, (eight Bishops present at one and thirteen at the other), the first of which anathematizes a priest who on Maundy Thursday shall celebrate after nine o'clock in the morning by mass for the dead, and the other threatens deposition to a priest who shall be discovered to have consecrated the oblation "not fasting, any other food whatsoever having been previously taken." And then at Toledo, A.D. 646, a small provincial council was held, (thirty-nine Bishops present or represented), which forbids a priest to offer Mass after having taken the least food and drink, and provides for having always one priest to stand by to take up the service if the celebrant faint. Some of these phrases, "stuffed with food," "drunken with wine," indicate the felt need of rigid rules to keep the clergy in order. The reasons given for the Canon cited (Braga, A. D. 572), is that some priests corrupted

\* If there is any weight in this, why not in a following canon (26) which forbids a woman to receive the Eucharist *with her hands bare*?

by the Priscillian folly had been bold to consecrate the Oblation after having "taken unmixed wine."

Those were rough, revelling times. S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine tell us how, in their age, Christian people and Christian priests, too, were prone to excess. But in the provinces of Gaul and Spain, in the sixth and seventh centuries, it grew worse and worse. We might discuss the exact meaning of the language, "*fasting*," and "*any other food* whatever being previously taken;" and might ask what evidence there is that midnight was the reckoning point. It matters not. "*Fasting communion*" seems to have had its rigorous trial by the priests in Spain. But its provincial canons, made for the priests alone, have no more authority with the clergy in America than a canon of Southern Ohio passed now will have one thousand years hence in some diocese in Central Africa.

Then comes the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 692. It decreed anew the Canon of Hippo 300 years before, only disapproving of the exception on Maundy Thursday. It gives no more precise definition of what is meant by *fasting* men, but provides that the fast on Thursday in Holy Week shall be the same as on other days in that week. Not one word against Holy Communion on that day, but against any relaxation of the ordinary Holy Week abstinence. This is the council which makes some pretension to being called ecumenical. Let those who think it enjoins, in canon 29, a strict natural fast from midnight, and plead its authority, heed canon 3 also, which orders a priest or deacon to be deposed who marries a second wife, unless he repent and put her away; and suspends those who have married widows, or who marry at all after ordination; and also canon 55, which forbids fasting on Saturday and Sunday, even in Lent, and canon 90, which forbids kneeling in church on Sunday.

And next the English canon. Says "The Christian Year Kalendar," 1883, p. 78: "It is the law of the Church of England;" and (p. 80): "The Church of England has *never* repealed the law which binds the priests and people \* \* \* never to communicate otherwise than fasting. And what is meant by fasting in this case is total abstinence from

every kind of food and drink, even in the very smallest quantities, from the preceding night." We suppose one of the Anglo-Saxon canons, about A.D. 994, is *the law* meant; for we know of no other. A dead letter for centuries; for, if still in force, no one who feels its force must taste food till he has heard High Mass and sermon at midday.\*

So a rigorist's canon in Spain for keeping priests in order in the seventh century, and in England at the end of the tenth century a sort of a canon which, if in force, enforces too much, are all that can be urged on the ground of the law of the Church for one thousand years after Christ.

The Council of Constance, A.D. 1414, sometimes quoted, gave *no rule* on the subject. It made a law denying the cup to the laity, and defends its decree in this way: CHRIST instituted the Sacrament *after supper*. The Church, in canons and customs, has held that this should not be done *after supper*, but administered to men fasting. And so, for good reasons, the Church may say: CHRIST ordered the Sacrament received in both kinds. The custom of administering the bread only, having "prevailed a very long time," we order that henceforth it be so administered. This is all this council says about "fasting communion," using the same terms, "after supper" and "fasting," defining nothing and ordering nothing on this subject, using it only by way of argument, to decree the denial of the cup to the laity.

But granted that the Canon of Hippo had lasting and universal force, and that the quotations from S. Augustine and S. Chrysostom and others prove—as they most certainly

\* We take the liberty of quoting this canon from Bp. Kingdon's work, p. 59, *note*. It is not accessible in other form. It suggests that it may become a necessity to re-enforce or re-enact it, in case the same ideas of "Fasting Communion" should again universally prevail. "It is a very bad custom that many men practice, both on Sundays and also other Mass days: that is, that straightways, at early morn, they desire to hear Mass, and immediately after the Mass, from early morn the whole day over, in drunkenness and feasting, they minister to their belly and not to God. But we command that no man taste any meat before the service for the High Mass be completed, but that all, both females and males, assemble at the High Mass and at the holy and spiritual Church, and there hear the High Mass and the preaching of God's Word." *Anglo-Saxon Witness*, by Rev. J. Baron, M. A., 1869, p. 30.

do not—the existence of a custom universal and apostolic, there is a link yet to be supplied, before *fasting from midnight without a particle of food or drink* can be fastened on the conscience of one who would follow in the footsteps of the early Church.

V. *The meaning of fasting.* Who were the *fasting men* by whom the Eucharist was received?

By the help of indexes, we have endeavored to ascertain what it meant in the Ante-Nicene Church. We believe that we have overlooked no passage that may throw light upon the question. In the Clementine Recognitions, Book VII., cc. xxxv.—xxxvii., it is clear that a rigid fast of a whole day before baptism was insisted on by some. But nothing of the kind in reference to Holy Communion. Among the "Selections from Prophetic Scriptures," is this definition: "Fasting, according to the signification of the word, is abstinence from food;" but how long, how severe, is not added. In the Apostolic Constitutions (the third century, perhaps), Book V., c. xviii., Christians are told during the days of the Passion—our Holy Week—to use only bread, salt and herbs, and water, abstaining from wine and flesh till the ninth hour; but on the preparation day and the Sabbath (our Easter Even) they are directed to fast entirely, tasting nothing till the cock-crowing of the night; both days if they can, but the Sabbath at least. And it is curious, in immediate connection, in c. xix., they are bidden even to cock-crowing "to keep awake, to assemble in church, to watch, pray and entreat God," etc., etc. The Shepherd Hermes, reckoned one of the Apostolic Fathers, says, Book III., Simil. 5, c. iii., the angel told him: "In the day of your fast you take nothing but bread and water." There are about twelve other places in the whole range of Ante-Nicene Christian literature, where fasting is spoken of. Tertullian has a treatise on it, and goes through all sorts of fasts, jejunia, xerophagies, and stations; but not a word in Tertullian, or anybody else in his day, of a rigid fast for any set time as a preparation for the Eucharist.

Let us go a little farther. Some time in the 4th century the following canon (50) was passed at Laodicea. "It is not lawful to break the fast on Thursday, the last week in Lent,

and dishonor the whole Lent, but men must fast *on dry diet* through the whole Lent." About 450, the historian Socrates, on "Discrepant Customs," tells how diverse are the practices of Christians; and among other things, in fasting; about the number of days in Lent; about the exemption of some days, and then about their different usages in the matter of abstinence:

Some, says he (Bohn's Ecc. Lib., lib. v., c. 22), wholly abstain from things that have life; others feed on fish only of all living creatures; many, together with fish, eat fowl also, saying that, according to Moses, these were likewise made out of the waters. Some abstain from eggs and all kinds of fruits; others feed on dry bread only, and others eat not even this; while others, having fasted till the ninth hour, afterwards feed on any sort of food without distinction. \* \* \* Since, however, no one can produce a written command as an authority, it is evident that the Apostles left each one to his own free will in the matter, to the end that the performance of what is good might not be the result of constraint and necessity.\* Nor is there less variation in the services performed in their religious assemblies than in their fastings. For, although almost all Churches throughout the world celebrate the sacred mysteries on the Sabbath of every week (Saturday), yet the Christians of Alexandria and at Rome, on account of some ancient tradition, refuse to do this. The Egyptians in the neighborhood of Alexandria and the inhabitants of Thebais hold their religious meetings on the Sabbath, but do not partake of the mysteries *in the manner usual among Christians in general*; for after having eaten and satisfied themselves with food of all kinds, in the evening, making their oblation, they partake of the mysteries.

Here the inference is plain enough: that, according to Socrates, the manner usual among Christians in general was not *in the evening or after meals*, but in the morning, *before* a full meal. Could the historian fail to remark on a practice like this as more than *unusual* if it had been so utterly opposed to a universal custom to which, twenty-five and fifty years before, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom and the Canon of Hippo had appealed, as a rule of authority, perchance of Apostolic authority, that a rigid fast from midnight should precede?<sup>†</sup>

\* A suggestion this to those who make or would make Fasting Communion the *result of constraint and necessity*.

† S. Basil, S. Ambrose, and S. Chrysostom, to whom reference has been made, all regard Lent, and especially Holy Week, as a fast preparatory to the Easter feast. The Scotch Presbyterians of a past century used to regard Friday before their semi-annual communion as a preparatory fast. All who had faithfully kept these preparatory fasts would be properly regarded as *the fasting men* of their communion.

Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 375, *Orat. XL.*, says, "Our *LORD* celebrated the mystery in an upper room and *after supper*; we in houses of prayer and *before supper*;" why not *before breakfast*, if such was the general fact? He is on the subject of the departure of the Church in some particulars from the exact institution. The departure in this case would have been the more marked if he could have said "in the very early morning and *before breakfast*." He *would* have said so if such had been the universal fact.\*

Now S. Ambrose, as we have seen (p. 41),\*. teaches that he keeps fast who abstains from *prandium*. He does not say from *jentaculum*, breakfast. And S. Augustine (see p. 10),\* considers men who are *non-cœnati* (have not supped) and *non-pransi* (have not dined or lunched), to be the *fasting men*, the *jejuni* by whom the Eucharist may be received; and that (see p. 41) he did not dare forbid one on Maundy Thursday to take *prandium* before communicating. And the Canon of Hippo itself, the first formulated rule about fasting communion, in its very wording shows it to

\* A friend whose learning and facilities greatly surpass ours has kindly furnished at length quotations, which lack of space forbids to insert. We state the substance concisely, and give the references.

Three attempts to poison Simon he miraculously escaped, the poison being taken *after* the Eucharist. But once taken *before* it, he was sick forty days. *Dr. J. M. Neale's Hist. Alex.*, Vol. ii, p. 90.

*Eusebius of Alexandria*, a titular Bishop of uncertain date, fifth or sixth century, says that a man who partakes of the Eucharist *after* food takes Judas portion. He knows many who do it, and he curses them. He says also that one who goes out of church before dismissed imitates Judas, etc., etc. *Galanius Bibl. Vet. Patr. Venet.*, 1772; *Tome*, viii, p. 254; also *Pusey's Doctrine of the Real Presence*, etc., p. 452.

S. Bernard (12th century) tells of Holy Fathers who, out of love for their guests, would eat with them, and then, *after* such slight refection, celebrate the solemn rites of the mass, never thinking that by such eating in love they broke their fast. S. Bernard does not approve their practice, but thinks they did it blamelessly. *Vitis Mystica*, cap. xlii; *Op. Paris.*, 1719; *Tom.*, ii, col. 497.

To these we add a reference to Bishop Kingdon's citation from the Greek monk Johannes Phurnes, A. D. 1100, where he says that before and at the time of the Council of Laodicea (4th century) men used to take their early dinner, *ἀπιστον*, and the Eucharist *after* it. This on all days; but the fiftieth canon forbade this on Maunday Thursday, because it dishonored Lent. *Bishop Kingdon's Work*, p. 46.

The words italicized *after* Eucharist, *before* it, *after* food, etc., etc., bear upon the line of thought in the next paragraph.

be a fact that a fasting priest, who alone may celebrate at a commendatory, may be one who has not taken *prandium*. *Jentaculum* is not alluded to.

The Greeks and Latins had two full set meals a day. In the late forenoon or early noon the *ἀριστρον*,\* *prandium*, call it luncheon or dinner; and at 6 o'clock or later *δειπνον*, *coena*, the second and often the heartiest meal, call it supper or dinner. It corresponded very nearly to the dinner of our business men in our large cities. But they had also the *ἀκράτισμα*, *jentaculum*, breakfast, a meal, less full, less regular, but nevertheless a part of their daily life. Classic reading shows it. The word is in the lexicons. It was a necessity then as now. It was a *break*-fast, not a full satisfaction. They who took it hastily as usually now and went to their work would be more hungry, and have more appetite, feel more empty, be more truly *jejuni* than at sunrise. S. Augustine in several places, and others of the fathers of his century and the next, consider a man as fasting who is still without his *prandium*. Those who maintain the rigid view of a fast from midnight have strangely overlooked the relation of this fact to the controversy before us. There is positively *no* evidence of such a fast being usually required, nor that it was a universal custom for one thousand years. The fact that the early Christians in times of persecution met before day and celebrated the Eucharist also, was a circumstance necessarily attendant on the condition of things; they celebrated early because their meetings were, for prudence sake, held early, and they communicated fasting because the time for breakfast was not come.

Thomas Aquinas, A. D. 1270, first formulated the rule of such a "natural fast" of entire abstinence from midnight, as a necessary preparation for taking the Eucharist.† Bishop Kingdon in a few well-chosen words (p. 245), states

\**ἀριστρον* at first meant breakfast; but from 300 B. C. *prandium* and *ἀκράτισμα* became the word for breakfast. See Liddell and Scott.

† In A. D. 636 Isidore of Seville defines fasting as scantiness of food or abstinence from food, and in A. D. 1250, twenty years before S. Thomas formulated his rule, Bartholomew of Brescia, the great canonist of his century, says, "the fast begins when digestion is complete." For these two quotations we are indebted to Bishop Kingdon, pp. 136, 137.

the difference between the natural and the ecclesiastical fast:

The ecclesiastical fast is a preparation of the whole man, body and soul, by way of humiliation, mortification, purification, according to the Fathers; the natural fast (so called technically) is a preparation of the mouth and the stomach, according to the moderns.

This low, materialistic view of the proper condition of the recipient, befits the then recently propounded low, materialistic doctrine as to *what* is received. The dogma, that in the consecrated bread and wine, the literal flesh and blood of the body of JESUS CHRIST which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross and rose again from the dead, and *nothing else*, are actually offered and received, first boldly, and grossly stated by Radbert in the 9th century, slowly extending for two centuries, had at last, in the early part of the 13th century, been put forth by Pope Innocent III as an Article of Faith and named *Transubstantiation*. The more our views partake of this idea, under whatever name designated, *Consubstantiation*, or the real presence of the glorified *Humanity* of our Ascended Lord, the more, probably, will the propriety of a rigid fasting reception be magnified. But we have often wondered much, that they who are so scrupulous as to *Its* reception into the unoccupied stomach should not more insist on that for which S. Chrysostom pleaded, an equal reverence following the act; and in honor of *Its* presence, formulate a rule as to the length of a strict fast *after* communion.

If a celebration every LORD's Day be in any parish established, and it be before breakfast usually, let those come to it who can. There is eminent propriety in it. To those who come worthily it will become more and more precious and profitable. But haste *here* makes sad waste. There are attending the practice, inconveniences to some, injury to others, danger to all. If it cause faintness and headache, it makes calm devotion impossible. If it interfere with home duties, its obligation may be questioned. And especially, if it be attended, as we fear it sometimes is, with neglect of private recollection and meditation, we must challenge its efficacy as a means of grace. A fast spent in uninterrupted sleep till one wakes a half-hour before the

time appointed, that half-hour being fully and hurriedly occupied in necessary toilet, and a rapid and often long walk to the church, is not what should immediately precede. If such are the necessities of this early hour, that we must hurry away from our closet, perhaps not entering it, we may well hear the Church saying to us, in the language of her Lord, "Is this the fast that I have chosen?" Rise earlier. Take a morsel of food if your physical condition needs it. Give time to some preparation, and so receive to your comfort and strength. The bodily fast, be it never so rigid in abstinence from food, should be unto its end one of comprehension, self-denial, and spiritual self-discipline.

And if the custom be a mid-day celebration, some hours after a simple *breakfast*, when the body and mind are usually in their best condition, then most unreasonable is it to neglect the invitation because of any private rule. It is unchurchly to turn Sunday into a fast-day.\* S. Augustine counselled Januarius, in the letter from which our chief quotation has been made: "Let each person do, therefore, in the Church to which he comes, what there he shall have found."

Bishop Kingdon declares himself in favor of an early fasting communion as a voluntary practice. But maintains that such communion, if ever binding, is not now in force and ought not to be made obligatory. He claims J. M. Neale and John Keble, of the present, and John Johnson and Kettlewell of an earlier day, as holding the same judgment: and quotes from Mr. Keble his disapprobation of such rigorous rules of fasting communion as some of his admirers seek now to impose, and have succeeded in binding on the conscience of some of our communicants.

\* "It is forbidden to fast on the LORD's Day." "Sundays never, not even in Lent." *S. Ephiphanius against Heresies*, B. III., c. xxi, 4th century. "If any clergyman fast on the Lord's Day (one only excepted, the Sunday before Easter), let him be deposed. If he be a layman, let him be cast out of the communion of the Church." *Apostol. Can. LXXIV.* (3d century perhaps). "We esteem it a crime to fast on the Lord's Day." *Tertul. De. Cor.*, c. 3; A. D. 200. See *Bingham*, B. XVI., c. viii, § 3.

## THE MAUNDY-THURSDAY CELEBRATION.

The custom of evening communions is not in accordance with the general usage of the Ante-Nicene Church. It should not be encouraged. But on one evening of the year, there is a "laudable reason," S. Augustine calls it, for an exception. One night in the year, "the night in which He was betrayed," in which Jesus took bread and wine and consecrated them to be the symbols and memorials of His broken body and shed blood, is peculiarly appropriate for the Eucharistic memorial in a Church whose ecclesiastical arrangement is based on anniversary commemorations. Many reasons conspire to give to this Holy Supper solemn and tender associations. To do as He did, at an hour nearly the same; *after supper*, if so that we do not "dishonor Lent," is an observance that may well claim its place in our Holy Year. It is *not*, as some have declared, a mistaken commemoration of an institution merely. *It is the exactest anniversary of the Great Sacrifice.* Our first American Bishop is a true representative of the Anglican theology, in teaching that in the Last Supper our Great High Priest offered Himself to God as a Sacrifice, and to us in sacred memorial, to be taken and eaten as the bread of life. The 17th chapter of S. John is His prayer for His Militant Church. His "hour" had come. From that supper-room He went forth as a Lamb to the slaughter. The fire of the LORD descended on the consecrated victim. His "soul was exceeding sorrowful, even unto death." Hours before the consummation on Calvary, the offering had been laid on the Altar of God. Rightly viewed, the Maundy-Thursday celebration, after nightfall, is, we affirm, the exactest representation not simply of the institution of the ordinance, but also of the Sacrifice which it commemorates.

The erroneous notion, which we oppose, of a rigid fast from midnight before reception, has done much to bring this annual commemoration into disrepute. The statement that it was primitive, has been assented to without inquiry into the accuracy of a few quotations thought to prove it. *The fast of the early Church was not of this sort.* But even if it were, and even if its example were binding

now, the Maundy-Thursday Eucharist is *expressly excepted*. The Canon of Hippo, the first formulated rule, does this. S. Augustine's comment on this exception, says it is based on a *laudable* reason. The Laodicean Canon says not a word against it, but condemns the feast on that day which some made before it, thereby dishonoring Lent; and directs people to fast that day on dry diet. The Council of Braga, A. D. 563, recognizes the lawful hour for the Maundy-Thursday Mass, *i. e.*, after 3 o'clock, in the very sentence which anathematizes the priest who breaks his fast. The Council of Mâcon, A. D. 585, reaffirms Hippo. The Trullan Council (Constantinople, A. D. 692), did *not* abrogate the permission given at Hippo, as some erroneously have asserted, and others have reiterated. It simply discouraged the supper that preceded the Eucharist, and determined that men ought not to relax the fast and so dis-honor Lent. There is not a word of disparagement of an evening celebration on the day before Good Friday, so far as we have been able to find, for one thousand years. Whether the conclusions arrived at in this essay be well-established or not, the Maundy-Thursday celebration is allowed in the first rule ever put forth. S. Augustine's letter shows that it was in the evening.\* That allowed exception has never been revoked.

SAMUEL BENEDICT.

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\* The Latin is, *ad vesperam, \* \* \* in fine diei.* Ep., LIV.

## THE MAKERS OF ITALY.

*The Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi.* By I. THEODORE BENT.  
New York: 1882.

*Joseph Mazzini. A. Memoir.* By MRS. E. A. VENTURI.  
London. 1875.

*Life of Count Cavour.* From the French of M. CHARLES  
DE MAZADE. New York: 1877.

*Victor Emmanuel and the Forming of the Italian  
Kingdom.* By EDWARD DICEY. New York: 1882.

PAUL V., writing in 1555, compared the Italy of the fifteenth century to a well-tuned instrument of four strings. Naples, Milan, Venice, and the States of the Church were the chords whose harmony mischievous princes were to violate. It was one of her unworthy sons, Ludovico Sforza, who "first spoiled that noble instrument Italy." Florence which, singularly enough, Paul does not include in his enumeration of the chief Italian States, had been under the wise Lorenzo, the mediator between Milan and Naples, and the preserver of the balance of power in Italy, an equilibrium soon disturbed after the death of the Medici prince. From the memorable expedition of Charles VIII, at the invitation of the Sforza, Italy dates all her subsequent calamities. The last of the old Guelphic Papacy, Julius II., died with the patriotic aspiration on his lips, which was to become henceforth, in one form or other, Italy's watchword: *Fuori d'Italia, gli Francesi e gli barbari!* Under Charles V. Italy owned a Ghibelline ascendancy unfelt since the days of the Swabian dynasty. Only Venice, of all the Italian States, remained free, and independent of foreign control. And, as it has been observed, from her alone could have germinated the plant of Italian unity, had such a growth been possible at this period. But the sixteenth century, from which Italy dates her three hundred years of foreign domination, was her most brilliant period in art and letters. Here was the culmination of the Renaissance, the

full fruitage of a precious seed-time, her centuries of freedom. And Rome succeeded Florence as the art-centre of Italy, giving to this age the name of one of her popes, the fortunate son of the great Lorenzo.

With the opening years of the eighteenth century, the war of the Spanish Succession convulsed Europe, and Italy again became a battle ground for French and Barbarians. It was at this time that the gentle poet Filicaja gave expression to the sorrowing patriotism of his countrymen in his celebrated sonnet, embalmed by Byron, with its burden of regrets, in *Childe Harold*:

—“O were thy bravery more or less thy charms!  
Then should thy foes, they whom thy loveliness  
Now lures afar to conquer and possess,  
Adore thy beauty less or dread thine arms!”

The final results of the Peace of Utrecht as regarded Italy were to give the Two Sicilies and Parma their Bourbon dynasties; to confer the fallen splendors of Florence, which the extinction of the Medici had left sovereignless, on a Lorraine prince, a member of the imperial house; and to bestow a kingly crown upon the wearer of a ducal coronet, Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy, in the fortunes of whose house Italy had an interest she could then little have foreseen. “Wearing the keys of the Alps at his girdle,” the Duke of Savoy had always held a position of considerable geographical importance in Italy, while politically scarcely ranking with her principal sovereigns. His subjects were backward in the arts of civilization, his capital was a rude provincial town, while Rome, Venice, Florence, Naples were the polished centres of a cultivated race, yet here lay the germ of Italy’s coveted nationality, and under the Sabaud cross her patriots were to realize the dream of poets and sages from Dante to Alfieri.

The principality of Savoy, a striking exception to the other States of Italy, has been always in possession of the same dynasty. First as Counts, then as Dukes, the Sabaud family, which dates from the tenth century, were a distinguished and war-like race, commanding consideration by their qualities of prudence and valor. The kingdom of

Sardinia therefore, though ruled despotically by its soldier-kings, was still in certain respects more fortunately situated than the rest of Italy. There was generally a good understanding between the people and their native princes, and the *justice de Savoie* had become proverbial. Yet the customs of the old *régime* and its repressive spirit pressed heavily upon enthusiastic and liberal minds like that of Alfieri, Italy's great eighteenth century poet, who left his native Piedmont to dedicate from Paris his *Brutus* to America's patriotic chieftain. With doubt, and wonder, and admiration, Italy bowed before the mirage of liberty offered her through the French Republic to find in Napoleon's imperialism a cruel disappointment. Yet in the repeated changes and reshaping of states which for nearly a quarter of a century succeeded one another in the Italian peninsula, there entered a regenerating element born of French liberalism which left beneficial results not fully perceived at the time. To Alfieri has been ascribed the first awakening of the idea of nationality among his countrymen through the remarkable sonnet in which Italy's redemption is foretold, if for the Gaul the Austrian be substituted:

"The day will come, the day return, in which  
Regenerate Italy, at length aroused,  
Shall speed unto the battle-field in arms;  
Not now for tame defense with foreign steel,  
But hurled against the Gauls.  
\* \* \* \* \*

Methinks mine ear already hears this strain,  
Thou Bard, who fall'n upon degenerate days,  
Could'st yet create this age sublime,—thyself  
Its prophet."

The Restoration which delivered Italy from the French brought the Austrian back in renewed force. Though Italy's several dispossessed sovereigns recovered their thrones, her republics of Venice and Genoa were to lose their autonomy, and a small new state, the Duchy of Modena was formed for an Austrian archduke, an heir by the female line of the Italian house of Este. Genoa *la Superba* was assigned to the kingdom of Sardinia, a fate she had, however, little reason to regret; Lombardy reverted to her old tyrants, and Venice, the Serene Republic, with her illustrious record and

her long cherished liberties, was given also as a portion to the barbarian:

“ Thirteen hundred years  
Of wealth and glory turn'd to dust and tears.”

The clock of history was not to be turned back so easily to the pre-revolutionary epoch, as the potentates of Europe supposed nevertheless:

*Viva Francia! Viva Spagna!  
Basta che se magna.*

which had been of old the reckless rhyme of the Milanese, was soon to be exchanged for a more self-respecting doctrine. Byron noted with noble sympathy, these recent wrongs of the Italian people and “ amidst all the disadvantages of repeated revolutions, the desolation of battles, and the despair of ages, their still unquenched ‘ longings after immortality ’—the immortality of independence.” Italy’s poets cherished in men’s hearts the love of liberty. Ugo Foscolo, self-exiled to England, pointed to his country’s *sepulchres* as all that remained of her cherished greatness. Silvio Pellico lived out the saddest of his tragedies in the desolate prisons to which the stern Austrian tyrant had condemned his unoffending youth; and released from Spielberg gave to the world an idyl of captivity in *Le Mie Prigione*, that most touching record of political martyrdom. The sad poet of Recanati, Leopardi, in his *All’Italia*, with all the kindling power of lyric genius, painted in burning words Italy’s desolation:

“ Where is thy vaunted strength? Thy high resolve?  
Who from thy belt hath torn the warrior sword?  
How hast thou fallen from thy pride of place  
To this abyss of misery!”

Italy, like her own volcanoes, was full of smouldering forces, and three times in the new age eruptions were to burst forth before the final liberation of her pent up fires. The movement for a constitutional government which spread from Spain in 1821 to Naples at one end of Italy, and Piedmont at the other, was watched anxiously by two English poets who were then on her soil, and who have woven her glories into their deathless verse. Shelley in his

noble "Ode to Naples" hailed enthusiastically her new-born freedom. Byron enrolled himself among the Carbonari, and gave generously of his means to its support, his name and influence doing much for the cause. It was central Italy which rose in revolt in 1831, and the ready Austrian bayonets, as before, were at hand to restore the base Modena prince and Parma's Duchess, while they insured protection to the retrograde Papal government. There was one man among the revolutionists of 1831, himself a foreigner, though of Italian lineage, who was never to forget his sufferings in the cause of Italian liberty, and who was yet, at the head of imperial legions, to bring about Italy's redemption. But in the meanwhile the nephew of Napoleon was to make himself odious to no inconsiderable section of Italy's patriots by his conduct in 1848 while chief of the revolutionary French government. In the great Italian uprising of this momentous year we meet again with Rome's magic name, and with the brief but glorious resuscitation of her ancient republic Mazzini is inseparably associated.

Of the four heroic figures, all of them belonging to Sardinia, whose names rise spontaneously to the lips at the mention of emancipated Italy, one is found among her kings, one is representative of her nobility, the third is a type of her professional classes, and the fourth is found among her artisans or peasantry. It were too much to say of these men what Byron said of Angelo, Alfieri, Galileo and Machiavelli:

"These are four minds which, like the elements,  
Might furnish forth creation,"

yet did they most truly, as "spirits which soar from ruin," furnish forth new Italy. It is the third of these representative men, Giuseppe Mazzini, who may be considered as the pioneer in the work of Italian independence. The three principles of the *Giovine Italia*, of which he was the founder, were republicanism, unity, independence. To rid Italy of the barbarian, to make a nation out of the six States into which she was divided, and to see this united Italy a republic, with Rome as its head, were the patriotic dreams of Mazzini.

But in regard to the last-mentioned point, the form of government, this was to be decided by the national will, when the other objects were attained. And independence was to be won by organized insurrection. For there seemed no hope of it through the reigning powers themselves. Charles Albert, the sometime *Carbonaro* prince of Carignan, as heir of Sardinia, had ranged himself with the reactionary party, and when on his accession in 1821 Mazzini wrote him a letter calling on him to take the lead in regenerating Italy, his response was the declaration of the writer's banishment. And now began for this enthusiast his long years of exile and of untiring exalted labor in the mission he had ordained for himself. He soon gained notoriety and became the terror of kings and princes. Persecution followed him in his banishment, but with that marvellous good fortune which never forsook him, while Europe for many years was agitated by his conspiracies, and to seize him would have been to secure the gifts and gratitude of those in power, Mazzini walked over the earth wearing the invisible cap of the prince in the fairy tale, with none to molest, none to betray him. True to an austere sense of duty he lived his solitary, dedicated life in steadfastness of purpose to the end. He never married, having espoused Italy, as was said of Cavour. And truly had he taken his bride for better, for worse; for worse in all the seventeen years that intervened before his hour of transitory triumph. At length the fateful year came when chaos was over the face of Europe, when all Italy was shaken to its centre, when France drove out her citizen king; Berlin was in revolt, and even the Vienna of Metternich, the symbol of absolutism and stability, had risen in defiance of the old order of things. Then it was that Mazzini exultingly, waving his republican banner

" Said, when all time's sea was foam,  
' Let there be Rome,'—and there was Rome."

Mazzini describes the intense emotion he experienced, "the deep sense of awe, almost of worship," when beholding for the first time the Eternal City:

Rome, the dream of my young years; the generating idea of my mental conception; the keystone of my intellectual edifice; the religion of my soul.

From one who was near him during all this crucial period, one who had become in a psychic sense a citizen of Rome and felt as her own its triumphs and its woes, we learn how Mazzini was worshipped by his republican followers. Margaret Fuller speaks of him as having:

Stood alone in Italy on a sunny height, far above the stature of other men. He has fought a great fight against folly, compromise and treason, steadfast in his convictions, and of almost miraculous energy to sustain them is he.

He seemed to her as the greatest of Italians, the only great man among them. He looked to Margaret Fuller's enthusiastic vision, "more divine than ever, after all his new, strange sufferings. . . . But the crisis is tremendous and all will come on him; since, if anyone can save Italy from her foes inward and outward, it will be he." Of Mazzini's personal appearance at this period we have a description from Masson, for many years his personal friend. His was the true Italian type of manly beauty: a "slight figure, dark and closely-fitting dress, with the marvellous face of pale olive, in shape a long oval, the features fine and bold rather than massive, the forehead full and high under thin dark hair; his whole expression impassioned, sad, and the eyes large, black and preternaturally burning." Such was Italy's paladin, and to this romantic exterior he added the charm of gentle and persuasive manners. A rapid and eloquent speaker, a deep, if somewhat mystical, thinker on philosophical and religious subjects, Mazzini was preëminently of Italy's liberators, the man of letters and of a varied and speculative culture. As one of Rome's triumvirs, he labored nobly and resolutely in the government of the city. And when the treachery of the French Republic was made manifest, and the inevitable fall that awaited this sister State, Mazzini unfalteringly urged its valorous defense. He remained a week in Rome after the French entered, and wearing his invisible cap, wandered broken-hearted amid the ruins of his lost hopes, revolving "wild and ruinous plans." But all was indeed over for Mazzini and for Italy, and the Mazzinian theory of insurrection had proved its inadequacy to solve the problem of the people's needs.

But it was not insurrection alone that had failed in 1848.

Italy's armies had gone out to battle, and found themselves baffled by the pitiless strength of the foe. Yet for some years previously this struggle with Austria had been looked forward to as inevitable. The Neo-Guelphic party believed that a propitious pope would lead Italy out of captivity, while others relied on a Neo-Ghibelline agency in the one national prince left them, Charles Albert, the "Sword of Italy." And it was the Sardinian King, once a liberal, and so lately a despotic ruler like his neighbors, who now sought to secure the independence of the peninsula. He earned the gratitude of his own subjects by bestowing upon them the long-coveted *statuto*. And after his vain but not inglorious war with Austria he sealed his devotion to his country by his abdication on the field of Novara, where he had vainly sought a soldier's death. A broken hearted exile, he went forth to die at Oporto, leaving his image to be enshrined with that of his happier son among Italy's patriots. At Genoa he was buried:

"There a king may fitly lie;  
Who bursting that heroic heart of his  
At lost Novara that he could not die,  
Though thrice into the cannon's eyes for this  
He plunged his shuddering steed, and felt the sky  
Reel back between the fire-shocks;—stripped away  
The ancestral ermine ere the smoke had cleared,  
And naked to the soul, that none might say  
His kingship covered what was base and bleared  
With treason, went out straight, an exile, yea,  
An exiled patriot! Let him be revered."

Victor Emmanuel II. was twenty-eight at the time of Italy's first war of independence, and he eagerly welcomed the opportunity to appear in arms, distinguishing himself by his valor in the early successes of the Piedmontese army and having the good fortune, as he esteemed it, to receive a wound. At Novara, the Savoy princes, Charles Albert and his two sons were among the bravest of the brave. And while the unfortunate king seemed to see the setting of Italy's star with his own on that red and fatal field, Victor Emmanuel, with all the ardor of youth and hope, declared as he turned from the hated Austrian, *Ma l'Italia sara!* Made a king in this hour of Piedmont's humili-

tion, by his father's abdication, Victor's native energy and shrewd good sense were early called into play. The terms of peace were so unpopular that it required all the young king's personal influence to secure their acceptance by the government. And at the same time he had to withstand the flatteries of the Austrian commander who sought to win him over from the liberal cause: "My house knows the road of exile, but not of dishonor," was his reply to these overtures. The first ten years of Victor Emmanuel's reign were years of preparation for the fulfillment of his resolve, the redemption of Italy. First, his own Piedmont was to be educated in constitutional liberty, to be fashioned into an instrument, a lever by which to raise her sister provinces; to become the "England of Italy," the model State, which should draw all men unto her. And the sovereign of Piedmont soon won for himself the title by which he is so well known, that of the *Re galantuómo*, the "Honest King." He carried out conscientiously his early determination, to be in deed as in name, a constitutional king. Four years after his accession, Victor Emmanuel appointed as his Prime-Minister the great man whose brilliant career is so closely associated with that of his sovereign and friend. If Victor Emmanuel may be likened to *Henri Quatre*, as one of his biographers asserts, Cavour was his Sully, his faithful mentor in private as well as his counsellor in public affairs. And the honest King had his faults, more harmful, indeed, to the man than to the Sovereign. Among his virtues, magnanimity, so much needed in one who played such a difficult *role* in history, was most conspicuous. Simple in his tastes and dress, abstemious at table, loving the chase and the pleasures of country life, he would often escape from the cares of the constitutional King and the Italian liberator to his Royal villas or the Savoy hills. He was known to the mountaineers, for whom he had always a kind word and friendly smile as *Barbe Vittorio*, or "Uncle Victor." In appearance, Victor Emmanuel was of middle stature, with broad shoulders, and a pleasant if not handsome face, with its open brow, fearless glance and good humored expression, while the full, curling brown beard and mustache added to its soldierly aspect. Like so

many of his race he was eminently a soldier king, prizing highly military glory. And his abilities as a leader of men, both on the battle-field and in the cabinet, were by no means slight; while by his skill in reading character, an important part of a sovereign's wisdom, he knew always in whom to repose confidence. This ability was shown in the choice of his great minister, Count Cavour.

Though from his earliest youth Cavour had cherished the hope of accomplishing something for his country's redemption, he disbelieved in revolutionary methods, and sought a slower and more legitimate procedure. He described himself as "desiring and hoping for social progress with all my might, but resolved not to accomplish it at the cost of a universal overthrow." Yet no Mazzini or Garibaldi could go beyond him in devotion to the national cause. "Generous hearts . . . will sympathise with our efforts to recall to life a nation for centuries buried in a frightful tomb," he writes to a friend. And again: "Take this confession as the avowal that my whole life is consecrated to one object, that of the emancipation of my country." The bent of his mind was to scientific pursuits and to politics, and he declared, in later years, that it was easier for him to make Italy than to make a sonnet. In 1852 he entered upon his public career, under Victor Emmanuel, to become from this time forward the great power behind the throne, to which Italy in a great measure was to owe her wonderful future. He soon fulfilled the King's prophecy that he would take from the ministers all their portfolios. And it needed a giant's arm, a giant's courage, after Novara, the nadir of Piedmont's fortunes, to raise her again to her zenith. Cavour was this giant:

" He bore up his Piedmont ten years  
Till she suddenly smiled and was Italy."

The important treaty with France and England in 1854, was due to Cavour's far-sighted wisdom. And it was said to have been a woman's happy inspiration in the first instance, that of Cavour's niece, the accomplished Countess Alfieri, in whose intellectual *salon* the busy statesman frequently sought relaxation from the weight of affairs.

It was a bold thought, boldly carried out against opposition and ridicule, for Piedmont was poor and obscure, and the quarrel with Russia was apparently one in which she had no concern. But Cavour rightly saw here an opportunity for Piedmont and for Italy, not to be overlooked. It was the entering wedge by which to secure her a place in European conferences; and it preluded the falling asunder of the treaties of 1815, the bar to Italy's independence. While England gave to Piedmont a moral support, most valuable in its way, Napoleon, who was France, gave her the indispensable material assistance by which to cope successfully with Austria. And it was Cavour's matchless diplomacy that brought this about. His eloquent arguments and indomitable will persuaded the judgment and fixed the wavering resolution of the Emperor, and determined him in his brooding purpose to become the knight-errant of Italy. And all through the subsequent momentous events in his country's history, Cavour, at the helm, guided the State amidst shoals and breakers to the shore of his hopes.

When the swift and troubled years brought Italy to her second, her true war of independence, in which she was no longer alone nor doomed to despair, her martial and patriot prince was in his element. "I have no other ambition," declared Victor Emmanuel, "than to be the first soldier of Italian independence." When remonstrated with at one time against exposing himself unnecessarily, he replied characteristically:

I am going to send some thousands of men to death, and how could I ask them to die for Italy if I was not prepared to show them by my own example that the cause was one worth dying for?

The King's valor on one occasion so aroused the enthusiasm of the French zouaves that they elected him their corporal, an incident similar to one related of the first Napoleon. The great battles of the campaign were fought and won by the allies, while Garibaldi achieved his Alpine successes with the volunteers, when after Solferino, the French Emperor made his sudden peace at Villafranca, in which Italy saw herself deserted, as it were, at the crisis of

her fortunes. But happily the principle of non-intervention proclaimed by France as early as 1830, disregarded in 1831 and 1848, was now respected, and by this means Central Italy was enabled to follow Lombardy which the peace had secured to Sardinia, and thus a second important advance was made in the forming of the new kingdom. But the gratitude of the nation to Napoleon III. was mixed with some alloy when the cession of Savoy and Nice was made public. The King had already given his daughter in marriage to Prince Napoleon, part of the price to be paid for the imperial alliance; and now he must resign his beloved Savoy, the cradle of his race, the resting place of his ancestors.

“ O first when the battle storm gathers,  
    O loyal of hearts on the throne,  
Let those keep the ‘ graves of their fathers,’  
    Who quail in the nerve, from their own!

“ For *thee*; through the dim Hades-portal,  
    The dream of a voice,—‘ Blessed thou  
Who hast made all thy race thrice immortal,  
    No need of the sepulchres now.’ ”

So sang the English poetess, who from her Florence windows looked out in generous sympathy on the work of Italy’s liberation. And the Savoy Prince could find a precedent for this act, if one were needed, in the annals of the House of Hapsburg, which had at need given up its birthplace also.

But Nice, the fair Mediterranean city; there was one of her sons who could not patiently endure this loss, who looked back lovingly to his childhood’s home, through all the vicissitudes of his romantic life:

“ The little house my father knew,  
    The olives and the palms of Nice.”

Yet there was work for him to do, he who had been made an alien in his own land, if kings and emperors were at peace, as Mazzini suggested, a swift deed of redemption, the emancipation of the two Sicilies. This was the crowning act of Garibaldi’s career, and it was the third step in the unification of Italy.

Giuseppe Garibaldi was one of the early proscribed ones

of the *Giovine Italia*, and, forced to leave his native land, he entered upon the adventurous South American period of his life which was to bring him his first military laurels. And here he met his Amazonian mate, Anita, the intrepid passionate creature whose wonderful feats of daring and endurance match those of her husband. The affair of the Salto San Antonio served to transmit Garibaldi's fame to European shores, to the beloved and suffering country on which his eyes were ever turned. Back to Italy with the rest of her exiles came Garibaldi in 1848; to serve her valiantly in the guerilla warfare in which he was such an adept; and finally to conduct the splendid defense of Rome against the veterans of France. It was in the toilsome and hazardous retreat, after the fall of the Roman Republic, that poor Anita, worn with fever and fatigue, died in her husband's arms and was left by the anguish-stricken fugitive to be buried by friendly peasants, in the classic shades of the *Pineta*, where a simple chapel rose in later years to mark the spot.

The call to arms in 1859, met with a glad response from the hermit-soldier of Caprera, who was placed by Victor Emmanuel in command of the *cacciatori delle Alpi*, composed of volunteers from all parts of Italy. Garibaldi's share in the War of Independence, though in the by-ways of battle as it were, was a most brilliant one, and strengthened his hold upon the nation as pre-eminently the popular hero. And doubtless Victor Emmanuel whose fame was somewhat overshadowed by that of his imperial ally, was sincere in wishing himself a companion of the dashing guerilla chief. In the following year Garibaldi undertook his own special service as Italian liberator, and with the historic *Thousand of Marsala*, part of his former command, the Hunters of the Alps, embarked upon his memorable expedition into Sicily.

But the Dictator of the Two Sicilies, who had conquered a kingdom within four months, to place it as a jewel in the crown of his sovereign, was never greater than in the moment when he resigned his power, refusing all gifts and honors, to return once more the poor and simple soldier to his island home. Garibaldi was at this time in the full

prime of vigorous manhood. In height he was not above the average, and his well-developed frame witnessed to the active life he had led. His hair and beard of reddish-gold, his eyes blue, in the whole cast of his fine, calm, blond face he recalled the Teutonic rather than the Latin race type. In character he had all the *bonhomie*, the trustfulness, the warmth of feeling which easily wins hearts, and his errors were those incident to a too-confiding temper and impressionable fancy. Garibaldi was not without the acquirements of the professional soldier, though drilled only in the world's rough school. He was an excellent mathematician, and planned his military movements with the confidence of scientific knowledge, while he carried them out with the boldness of original genius. He was also well-read, and possessed a knowledge of several languages, while at the same time he was lamentably deficient in literary ability, as his novels demonstrate. If Cavour and Mazzini were the thinkers and schemers of the Italian movement, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel were the men of action, the men to lead armies. The prince and the man of the people were not dissimilar in other respects; they have both been likened to classic types, to the heroes of Plutarch in their unconsciousness, their simplicity in pursuing national ends regardless of personal applause or censure.

In Garibaldi's conquest of the two Sicilies, another and this time a successful trial of the Mazzinian theory of insurrection had been made. Mazzini himself, though with secret and tentative steps, for his republican bias was looked upon as dangerous to the stability of the new institutions, had appeared again in the consolidation of Italian liberty. But this time, not only was there no foreign power intervening to stay the patriot movement; there was in its place a powerful national government silently countenancing and abetting it. Garibaldi's course was closely watched, and in a manner guided by Cavour. For it was expedient that the Liberator should stop at Naples, as a march upon Rome would imperil Italy's relations with France. And this was a case where the susceptibilities of Roman Catholic Europe were to be considered, and not

simply the doubtful rights of a despotic prince. To fore-stall Garibaldi, therefore, by Cavour's advice, Victor Emmanuel made an aggressive movement, responding to the call of Umbria and the Marches, which were now given the opportunity to unite themselves with the Italian kingdom. The *Papalini* composed in a great measure of Irish and French fanatics, under the French general Lamoriciere, who had justly incensed the Italians by calling themselves crusaders arrayed against "Islamism," were defeated at Castelfidardo, while the *Garibaldini* were occupied on the Volturno. And now there ensued a necessary pause in the growth of the new kingdom. Rome, which had been occupied by French troops ever since the fall of Mazzini's republic, all Italians felt, must eventually crown their organization. "We must go to Rome," declared Cavour, "but on two conditions, that we are acting in concert with France, and that the great body of Catholics in Italy and elsewhere do not see in the reunion of Rome with Italy the source of the subjection of the Church." And to attain this end Cavour put all his diplomacy into requisition. For Venice, Italy must wait not too impatiently the march of events. Meanwhile Cavour's duties had become most arduous, and his herculean powers were taxed to the utmost. To dominate and reconcile opposing interests; to mould into symmetry incongruous elements; to bring from the discords of long-divided and jarring chords the harmony of a perfected nationality, all this rested upon Italy's Prime-Minister.

He declared: "My task is even more laborious and painful than it used to be. To build up Italy, to blend the divers elements of which she is composed and harmonize the North with the South, presents as many difficulties as does a war with Austria and the struggle with Rome." And then Italy, which had grown so quickly and strangely to her larger life, was yet unrecognized. Cavour was busy with her foreign relations, by no means quite smooth ones just then; with her finances; with her navy, besides a daily attendance upon parliament, and could ill bear an added strain upon his nervous system. When Garibaldi's sullen murmurs from Caprera

voiced themselves in vexatious personalities. For the Nice session, which Garibaldi attributed to Cavour, was still unforgiven, and he had later grievances, as he thought, to add to this. Happily the kind-hearted king brought about a reconciliation between the estranged patriots, which must have been a consoling thought to the one who so long survived his great compeer. For in this triumphant hour of Italy's destinies, Cavour was taken from her. At the height of his power and at the consummation of his hopes, it might be said, he died; happy in having been permitted to enter the promised land, if only to cross its borders. Snatched away ere his feet had more than touched the Canaan of his dreams, his loss to Italy, though great, was not irreparable, as it might have been had he fallen in the wilderness.

Cavour seemed born to rule men, but his love of power was not stronger than his love of liberty, and he was strict in his observance of constitutional requirements. With his agreeable and graceful manners; his command of a naturally ardent temper; and his essentially well-balanced mind with its resources of good-tempered humor, he found it easy to retain the influence which his sagacity had won. His extensive knowledge of English and Continental history, his mastery of political and social science, and his astuteness in the application of diplomatic principles to the exigencies of an unparalleled position, entitle him, perhaps, to the highest rank among the statesmen of his age. Like Mazzini, he was an idealist, but having practical talent and a clear-sighted view of feasible ends, he was permitted to realize his ideal. Mazzini mistook the means, and his democratic goal not reached, he could be content with no halting-place on lower ground. While the one used as his instruments principalities and powers, Macchiavellian-wise, looking not too closely to their value, irrespective of the purpose in view; the other scrutinized the imperial tool and disdained it. He would work from below up, all was to be for the people by the people. And crediting the masses with every civic virtue and potency, failure too often awaited him to the detriment of his own reputation.

Cavour lived and died a consistent member of that National Communion which he wished to see sharing in the

reforms that had reached Italy's political institutions. *Libera chiesa in libera stato*, "a free Church in a free State," were among the last words of this Christian statesman and true patriot.

With Rome and Venetia still unattained, the makers of Italy could not be said to have finished their work. Garibaldi, whose motto had always been *Italia farà de sè*, impatient of the slow methods of diplomacy, could no longer be deterred from his rash Roman enterprise which forced Victor Emmanuel to turn Italy's arms against her distinguished son. An unfortunate affair this was certainly, but it seemed the only way out of a national dilemma, and Cavour was no longer at hand with his sure and subtle wisdom to solve political complications. In the meanwhile Victor Emmanuel longed not less ardently than Garibaldi for the possession of Rome, "to complete the glory of Italy." And when a European war again darkened the horizon, another assault upon Italy's hereditary foe, she eagerly embraced the alliance with Prussia, to recover her remaining provinces. Garibaldi was afforded another Lake campaign at the head of his volunteers. A wound, however, received in one of the first engagements, incapacitated the popular chief to some extent, and deprived the volunteers of his personal prowess and example. Italy's regular troops, also, were not as successful as could have been wished in the Austro-Prussian war. The new Southern levies were insufficiently disciplined; Victor had not yet fully accomplished his aim "to Italianize Piedmont and to Piedmontize the army." But Prussia's ally nevertheless received her meed in the restitution of Venetia, now at last free in the new national life of united Italy. It was said of Victor Emmanuel at this time, that he swallowed a province a day, having, in fact, absorbed into his kingdom seven principalities within seven years. The evacuation of Rome took place in 1866 as stipulated; and then followed Garibaldi's second impetuous advance upon the coveted city, which resulted in the disastrous field of Mentana. It was the French on this occasion who stopped his progress, and the cruel *Chassepôt* gun, then just invented, did fearful damage to the ranks of the less completely equipped Italians. Victor Em-

manuel felt very keenly this slaughter of his subjects: "It seems to me," he said, "as if the bullets had pierced my own breast." And the good understanding between France and Italy was much cooled by an affair so vexatious to Italy. And now the French troops were again in Rome, and its recovery indefinitely retarded, as it seemed; when in four years' time the Franco-Prussian war left the way open for the final act of the Italian drama. The Roman Catholic powers looked on in a silence that seemed to give consent, while the Pope fell from his temporal throne—a throne propped up by foreign bayonets as all the world could see. At length it seemed to be perceived that the slavery of the Romans was not essential to the preservation of the Roman Catholic Church, a principle which had been in vogue for so many years. And Victor Emmanuel said:

At last our arduous task is accomplished, and our country is reconstituted. The name of Rome, which is the grandest name uttered by the mouths of men, is joined with the name of Italy, the name which is dearest to my heart.

Thirteen years have rolled away since the final unification of Italy, and one by one her liberators have passed from life's scene, leaving to the new generation the heritage they so nobly won. Mazzini, of whom Swinburne has written, using the same comparison with Columbus, the great Genoese, that D'Azeglio with less felicity had made in reference to Alfieri:

"One found a new world mid the virgin seas,  
And one found Italy."

Mazzini had, after all, not found Italy made to his liking. He had never swerved from his republican principles, and to the last schemed and labored for a republic as he had in earlier years worked for the two other divisions of his political creed. Concerned in an insurrectionary movement in Sicily, he was arrested in his old age and imprisoned once more in an Italian fortress, a fate he had not known since his early *carbonaro* days, but was soon after set at liberty. He now visited Rome after an interval of twenty-one years. But he still considered himself an exile, and sadly enough had persisted in his self-imposed expatriation. The last year of his life, however, the winter of 1871-2, was

spent at Pisa, where he had gone for his health, and where he lived under an assumed name and unknown but to a few chosen friends. So that he breathed his last under the skies of free Italy, to whose regeneration he had loyally devoted his life. Some of the fruits of his democratic apostolate may be found in the eight hundred societies scattered over Italy, who met together a year ago last June to inaugurate a monument to his memory. Victor Emmanuel, the honest King, more fortunate than the republican enthusiast, had seen the accomplishment of every dream. Seven years he lived at the Quirinal in as amicable relations with the ex-prince of the Vatican as the latter's official conscience would permit. Victor could now take leisure for travel, and he visited the capitals of Berlin and Vienna, renewing friendly relations with his Austrian connections. And Francis Joseph came to Italy to return the visit, where at Venice the strange sight of Austrian and Italian colors mingled in friendly union, witnessed to the amity between the emancipated Italian and the once abhorred *straniero*. The first King of Italy, fortunate in death as in life, passed away, after a brief illness, at fifty-eight, before the infirmities of old age had rendered life irksome, and having attained, indeed, all that the world could give to satisfy patriotic or kingly ambition. Italy is scarcely yet out of mourning for the old hero of Caprera, the idol of the people, the spoilt child of that country which has been called the spoilt child of Europe. After fighting so long for Italy in season and out of season, Garibaldi, true to his championship of forlorn hopes, gave his services to the French Republic in 1871, and this was the last of his many campaigns. Garibaldi, as representative of Rome in the Italian Parliament, experienced one of the great satisfactions of his later years—years marked by increasing bodily infirmities, and by a confirmed radicalism, political and religious. At Caprera his last days were spent, his mind full of all its old energy, his fancy speculating upon the chances of a future war with Austria for the recovery of Trent and Trieste, and his closing public acts being directed against the Papal Guarantees. Austria and the Vatican, with their little remnant of power on Italian soil, were still to be combatted by

this votary of freedom. Italy, liberated Italy, has now entered upon a new career of prosperity, material and intellectual. With her eight provinces in one State, she is still not too much centralized for healthy political life. The old cities of her ancient glory retain their place as centres from which radiates the local self-government that finds for national purposes its head in Rome. As a great maritime power Italy's position among the nations of Europe promises to be signally advanced by the facilities of the Suez Canal. And in this respect she thus returns to the position of her republics in the middle ages, before the route by the Cape of Good Hope had destroyed their wealth and greatness. And the Italian language, as a liberal study, is recovering the place it once so proudly held as the vehicle of the best culture of Europe. The literature of modern Italy, philosophical, scientific, and in what we understand as humane letters, yies now with that of the foremost nations of the world, and many of the names distinguished in the later Italian literature are associated, as was to be expected, with Italy's struggle for independence. Manzoni, her foremost novelist, and one of her greatest poets, lived to witness "Italy's coronation," as he termed her first national parliament; D'Azeglio, the gifted artist and man of letters, bled for Italy as well as wrote and legislated in her cause; while Giusti and Carducci are perhaps the representative bards of Italian liberty, the one dying while yet this liberty hung in the balance, the other being to-day Italy's greatest living poet. Having made for herself a chapter in history, to use Lord Palmerston's words, "the most romantic in the annals of the world," Italy has given an earnest of her bright future; a future assured to her in its general outlines, whether her government remain the constitutional monarchy of the *Re Galantuomo* and Cavour, or become, as Cavour himself seemed to predict, the ideal republic of Garibaldi and Mazzini.

K. M. ROWLAND.

## BENJAMIN HALE.\*

WHOEVER will take the trouble to look over the files of the Catalogues or "Registers" of Geneva (now Hobart) College, will find therein names which are now met with in all the various professions and ranks of life in our country. Among these some have become distinguished, and have honorably borne offices of responsibility and trust in the State. Some adorn the Episcopate; some the less conspicuous but honorable and useful positions as professors in institutions of learning; some labor for the welfare of the Church and the salvation of their fellow men as parish priests; some have been successful as men of business, and have become the leaders of large industrial enterprises. Of these a large number were undergraduates during the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Hale. Among them there has not been one who passed through college with any degree of credit to himself who did not feel the impress of the mind and character of the President, and who does not owe to that same moulding influence much of his success and usefulness in life.

The same to a great extent, no doubt, may be said of the influence of any worthy president of any college. But the College in Geneva was never a large institution; there was never a large corps of professors and tutors, and hence each student was brought in nearer relation to and more direct intercourse with its head. The pages of his memoir will, therefore, have for them more of a personal interest than if he had been the distinguished but distant president of the institution in which they pursued their studies.

To please his children, he began, near the close of his days, to write his autobiography, which he had carried down to his thirty-fourth year. But the twilight of age

\* *Sermons of the Rev. Benjamin Hale, D. D., President of Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., 1836-1858. With Memoir, by the Rev. MALCOLM DOUGLASS, D. D., Claremont, N. H. Claremont Manufacturing Co., 1883.*

with its premonitions of the grave came upon him, and he was compelled to leave the work unfinished. Dr. Douglass, the writer of the Memoir, supplements this manuscript with facts obtained from relatives and friends of his early life, and with abundant information with regard to all his subsequent career.

Of the stock of which Dr. Hale came, his biographer says: "Both sides of the house were of a vigorous, industrious and useful race, held in honor by their fellow citizens, and distinguished for their domestic virtues, their sterling goodness, and their faithfulness in the discharge of trusts and duties." His childhood was in a quiet, happy and pious New England home, where were the stern virtues of the Puritans, but with the harsh edges rounded off, and the gait and general bearing made graceful and genial by the gentle and tolerant spirit which pervaded the atmosphere of the house. His father was of domestic tastes, and took a particular interest in the education of his children. His mother was a true Christian matron, seeking faithfully to impress upon the members of her household a sense of their duty to God, but never failing to make home so pleasant and attractive that the children had no desire to pass their out of school hours elsewhere.

In reading the autobiographical sketch one is naturally curious to know how, after the lapse of half a century, one whose theological convictions had undergone that change implied in the transition from a conscientious and consistent Congregationalist to a conscientious and consistent Churchman would speak of the religious sentiments prevailing in the community where his early manhood was spent.

In 1815, while at Dartmouth College, there was a revival. It was not characterized by the extravagances by which those meetings were often so strongly marked. On one occasion a sermon by President Edwards had been read. Dr. Hale says:

The impression produced by it was strong. I had been, as I have said, religiously educated. I believed most fully in the great truths of Revelation, and was prepared to feel the weight of such a discourse, and to sympathize

with the deeply serious impression which reigned around me. There were about fifty who at that time were thought to be converted. I was among them, and I suppose I may say that at that time I commenced a professed and more systematic religious life. I made a regular duty of reading the Scriptures and prayer; and as I look back upon my feelings and purposes from this distance of time, I judge favorably of the sincerity with which I engaged in religious duties. Whatever fluctuations there may have been in my feelings since, I have never from that time ceased to recognize my religious duty, and with more or less earnestness to make it my daily business. My mind was in no inconsiderable degree of tumult. The current theory of regeneration taught us to look for some great and wonderful change, and my conscious shortcoming rendered me perpetually anxious \* \* \* \* \* The subjects of the revival were, I presume, generally as I was, young persons who had been religiously trained, and who needed not teaching, nor being convinced of the general duties of religion, but to be brought to a decision to lead a religious life. They were aided in making it by common sympathy. They believed that the Spirit of God was moving among them, and although I do not hold to the view which was then common to myself and the rest, far be it from me to attribute to any lower source the good that might be wrought in any of us at that time. I think the Spirit is always ready.

This theory of regeneration and the great and wonderful change which was supposed to accompany it, was the cause of much anxiety and deep distress in the minds of those who, naturally distrustful of self, endeavored to come up to their full duty, conscientiously. Dr. Hale thus speaks of his first Communion:

This was a serious time with me. The receiving of the Holy Communion was invested with awful sacredness by the strict Puritans. To receive it unworthily was to eat and drink damnation, and by "unworthily" they understood in an "unconverted state." It was deemed indispensable that every one should try and examine himself therefore before he received it; and the examination was to ascertain whether he were really regenerate. I well remember the almost stunning anxiety which I felt on such occasions. No one can avoid respecting the seriousness with which this duty and privilege was regarded, though connected with an unpractical method of self-examination. It often engendered undue and sometimes fatal anxiety, and sometimes operated upon sensitive minds to exclude them entirely from becoming partakers of this sacrament. A female member of a family in our neighborhood committed suicide under the apprehension that in "joining the Church" she had acted hypocritically and committed a great sin. And my own father, though religiously disposed, and, I believe, earnestly desirous to do his duty, never dared to "make a profession," and thus become a communicant.

As an earnest and consistent servant of the Lord, such as young Hale prayerfully endeavored to be, he must needs take part in the religious movements around him. His first

experience in "leading in prayer" at a prayer meeting was not a happy one. He staggered and reeled through the words. His language was incoherent and without meaning, and he got through, as he says, in more danger of apoplexy than of being puffed up. In this connection we give his earliest experience as a Congregational minister:

I recollect as if it were but yesterday, many of my feelings on that occasion. The services in Congregational meeting-houses consisted of a short opening prayer, a hymn, the long prayer, another hymn, then the sermon, a short prayer and the benediction. Sometimes a chapter or part of a chapter was read before the long prayer, and in the afternoon a hymn followed the sermon. My temperament was nervous, my articulation was rapid, and my method of saying what I had to say, direct. The long prayer, according to the usual custom, should be about fifteen minutes in length. A fresh hand, not accustomed to the circumlocution and the practice of "enlarging," which aided in filling up the allotted time where new topics and new matter did not crowd upon the mind; and timid withal in adventuring to appear as the extempore organ in presenting the devotions of the congregation before God; I felt embarrassed in the long prayer. I felt that I was in danger of stinting it. I feared that in making short work of it I might offend the seriousness of some of my good friends in the congregation. I labored for topics and for periphrastic expressions that I might reach the proper length of the exercise; and then I felt that such regard to what hearers might think was out of place; that I was working out an exercise and not praying; and I finished the prayer and sat down humbled and ashamed. I have often thought of it, and have wanted no other proof than my own experience on this and other occasions, that, simple as this method of worship is in *appearance* it is not favorable to simplicity of heart before God.

Not less interesting is it to follow the subject of this narrative through the successive steps which led him finally to the Church. While at Dartmouth in 1815, he says he remembers hearing the Church of England spoken of as one which had a great many bishops and not more than one converted man among them, and supposed that it might possibly have been so. He had also read in the Massachusetts "Missionary Magazine" stories of the persecution of the Puritans by the ministers of the Church, and was moved, by accounts of the sufferings of his ancestors. Still, he had no decided prejudices, and having for a few times attended S. Paul's Church, Newburyport, he recognized the beauty and impressiveness of the services and was not disposed to scoff at the Church's ministers. In Andover Theological Seminary, where he began his theological studies, ecclesiastical history formed but small part of the regular

course; but young Hale devoted to that branch such leisure as he had for reading. Though the book he read, Milner's, gave him no very profound ideas of the subject, yet he was satisfied that the Church planted by CHRIST and his Apostles was not like the organization in which he had been reared. He accepted Episcopacy as a *fact*, but entertained the idea which prevailed in New England, that Church government was only an outward matter, not binding upon the conscience, nor a thing of any moment. Still, it became to him a subject of interest, and during the progress of his theological studies, he read such books touching upon the question as came to his hand. The conclusion at which he arrived is thus stated:

It (Episcopacy) was admitted to have been introduced very early, for that could not be denied; and the theories of Campbell and others of its opposers to account for this fact seemed to me so clearly invented to serve a purpose, and so completely unsustained by fact, that they confirmed me in my conclusion by showing the utter weakness of the other side. I was not, however, a Churchman, nor had I begun to understand the Church as God's organization for the salvation of the world; the pillar and ground of the truth, the embodiment of the Gospel; that in it was union with the living Head; in it were the promises; that from its nature it could be but one, and must endure through all time or God's promise would fail and His purpose be defeated.

While in charge of the Lyceum, a school in Gardiner, Maine, he began to attend regularly the services of the Church. The churchmanship in that parish, however, was quite loose. Without any reference to confirmation, he was admitted to the Communion. He preached occasionally, sometimes read service, officiating, as the rector of the parish was accustomed to do, in gown and bands. While at the head of this institution he was beset by invitations to preach, which he could not conveniently meet. He therefore returned to the Moderator of the Congregational Association his "license to preach." He was further moved to do this on account of the preference for the Church which he now entertained, and which was so strong that he had resolved, if ever he preached again, to take Orders. Here is a passage from his experience at this time:

During the winter, January or February, 1823, I took a severe cold, which affected my eyes, and was attended with extreme sensitiveness to the light. I

was obliged to have my room as dark as it could be made. One Sunday morning, while in this condition, I sat listening to the Church bell as it tolled for service, and as it stopped I commenced the service, repeating to myself one of the sentences—then the exhortation—then the confession, etc., till I had gone through a considerable part of the service; enjoying it as if I had been a worshipper in the congregation, and feeling that I was mingling my confessions and prayers and praises with those which were ascending from the worshippers in church. I saw and felt deeply the advantage of such a form of service, and was confirmed in my attachment to the Church and the Church's ways, so far as I knew them.

While filling the chair of professor of chemistry at Dartmouth College he found himself in a position to renew preaching. He accordingly obtained ordination at the hands of Bishop Griswold at Woodstock, Vt., on the 28th of September, 1828. He preached occasionally during the next eighteen months, after which he commenced an evening service at his own residence. We give his own account:

At first no one was present beside my own family, with part of Dr. Oliver's and Horace Brooks, then my pupil in mathematics, now of the U. S. A. It soon began to be spoken of, and individuals asked permission to attend, and in the course of a few months my room was well filled. I continued these services with few interruptions during my stay at Hanover—and very pleasant they were. My little congregation of five and twenty or thirty, consisting for the most part of those who had never seen before the liturgical service, became deeply engaged. All knelt at the devotions, all responded, and it was truly a common prayer, a united offering to one common Father. The feelings of many were touched and their hearts opened. In my sermons I never touched upon points of controversy. I scarcely preached one which I might not have preached without offense in the Congregational meeting-house. In fact my own views were, upon the doctrines of the Church, only beginning to form.

All this while he was, with his family, a regular attendant, forenoon and afternoon, at the Congregational meeting-house, where he had a pew. In the evening he held his own service. But the growing attractiveness of the services at the professor's house, and the unavoidable consequences, an awakening interest in the minds of the students and others, created an uneasiness among the Congregational clergy, who claimed exclusive possession of the ground. But it was not so easy a matter to silence this disturber of their peace. He was not obtrusive, did not seek to make proselytes, was not violating the College Charter, neither was he doing anything in conflict with his profes-

sorial duties. But the knot that could not be untied could be cut. Accordingly, at their annual meeting in 1835, without a warning to him or conference with the faculty, the Trustees abolished the professorship of chemistry in the medical department, and transferred its duties to a professor in the college. This act, so discreditable to the college, was done under the plea of greater economy! Of course this matter was not suffered either by the professor or his many warm friends to pass by unnoticed. It created great excitement, and was the occasion of several pamphlets and newspaper articles, in which the Trustees appeared to disadvantage.

In 1835, Mr. Hale published that valuable and well-known little manual, "Scriptural Illustrations of the Liturgy." In the same year he represented the diocese of New Hampshire in General Convention, and received the degree of D. D. from Columbia College. In the year following he became President of Geneva College.

It was a most critical and trying period in the history of that institution. The mismanagement and "sharp practice" of years had crippled it. For ten years its graduates had averaged but four a year. Its annual income from endowments was but \$1,500. About as much was received from other sources. With such small beginning Dr. Hale entered upon his work. Two years afterwards the State made the College a grant of \$6,000 per annum. This was continued until 1846, when it was suddenly and most unexpectedly withdrawn. The college had made its arrangements for the current year without any thought of such a calamity. There was no alternative; Dr. Hale was obliged, in behalf of the institution he served, and of the professors who were dependent upon their promised salaries, to go to Albany to induce legislators to redeem pledges made upon the implied promise of the State. And there the scholar, the divine, the high-toned gentleman, was compelled to become a member of the lobby, soliciting the favor of legislators, among whom were demagogues, and ignorant politicians, who regarded colleges as but aristocratic institutions. During this time, for Dr. Hale to have drawn his own salary would have been to nearly exhaust the resources of the college and

leave the professors without an income. He accordingly accepted a reduced salary, but did not even draw that until the dark days were over. The funds in the treasury went to pay his colleagues. His own brothers nobly came to his help. But college professors could not be expected to remain at their posts on a mere pittance, and the continuance of that doubtful. In 1848, the faculty consisted of Dr. Hale and two tutors, both graduates. Through all these trying times he had a firm friend and judicious counsellor in Bishop De Lancey, to whose exertions it was mainly owing that in time the venerable Corporation of Trinity Church came to the aid of that College which the wisdom of Hobart had planted, and which was henceforth to bear his name.

The long and dismal night, now happily at an end, had been a period of humiliations, suffering, patient endurance, silent and cheerful submission, hope while every surrounding suggested despair, and pinching poverty when by abandoning the enterprise an abundant support from other quarters might have been enjoyed. But the faith of the noble President did not falter nor did his courage. He would not be beaten. A few words in a private letter to his brothers tell the story :

I can hardly express to you, my dear brothers, my obligation for all your kindness. May God reward you. I should not remain in a position in which I am obliged to be so much indebted to you, if I did not feel constrained, by a sense of duty, to save if I can this college, and to make it what it ought to be. I trust we are approaching the shore.

In the recitation room, Dr. Hale was in the strict sense of the word "in his element." He loved to teach. He loved to invite inquiries, to explain difficulties, and to draw illustrations, always to the point, from his exhaustless store. The impressions received in those recitations, particularly in moral and intellectual philosophy, in the evidences, and in Butler's Analogy were calculated to last, and to exert an influence through all the students' after life.

As a disciplinarian, Dr. Hale knew how to be stern and to enforce authority—as some of the students learned by memorable experience. But his administration was mild and his manner pleasant. He was a good reader of char-

acter, and often, with admirable shrewdness outgeneralled the plotters of mischief. He saw that it was not wise always to oppose that which, if properly guided, might be harmless, or even beneficial. This remark was exemplified in an instance not alluded to in the memoirs. Secret societies have been the *bête noir* of many a college faculty. One morning the authorities of Geneva awoke to the fact that there was a secret society among them. What many another faculty has done in similar circumstances everybody knows. What Dr. Hale did in this case was to join the society himself. When in after years the Geneva Chapter of Alpha Delta Phi presented to the college a marble bust of Dr. Hale, he, in the course of a responsive address, stated the rule on which he had been accustomed to act in many cases wherein there was danger of collision—to lead in a safe channel that which might otherwise prove an impetuous and dangerous torrent; to provide a harmless vent for that which is natural and will not be restrained. “Otherwise, if you meet them with a doubled fist, they will meet you with both fists doubled.”

Dr. Norton in his “Reminiscenses” mentions an incident illustrative of Dr. Hale’s method. The occasion is not likely to be forgotten by those who took part in the performance. It was the usual Wednesday afternoon declamation in the chapel, and it was the turn of the Sophomore Class. The first speaker declaimed in a tongue not English; the second in another, and so on through the whole class. Not only were heard the familiar Greek, Latin, French and Spanish, studied in the college, but Italian, Scotch and some of the Indian dialects. The whole was crowned by a recitation of “Old Grimes is dead,” in a jargon composed of a mixture of English, Latin and Greek. How should this performance be treated? As an impertinence calling for admonition or something worse? Dr. Hale took the matter in the utmost good humor, and at the close said with a smile, that hereafter the declamations must be confined to the languages studied in the College.

This incident, though a trifle in itself, was not without its good effects. There was at that time a tutor, who, besides being a most thorough scholar and faithful instructor, was

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kind and genial, but morbidly conscientious in the matter of discipline; believing it his duty, though it was far from his inclination, to suppress all trifling, even the ebullition of youthful spirits which sometimes become hilarious, and sometimes find vent in pranks, which, though undignified, are harmless. In a conversation between him and one of the students, in which the relations of officer and student were the theme, this very incident was adduced to prove to the tutor that the course of President Hale in treating so good humoredly instead of reprimanding or punishing such a prank, endeared him to the students, and made it a point of honor with them to be considerate in future. The result was a decided improvement in the tutor's method thereafter.

Not only was Dr. Hale faithful and laborious in his duties as President, but as preacher and lecturer he exerted an influence far beyond the College precincts; and though he was not a showy orator, and never rose to the heights of eloquence, yet as a writer he was clear, concise and pointed, wasting no words, and so skilful in the management of his subject, that he never failed to interest and impress his hearers. He was everywhere a favorite. His sermons were never dry or heavy, though always full of thought, as a perusal of the twenty sermons and addresses accompanying the Memoir will fully attest.

Mr. Burrall, in his tribute to Dr. Hale, says that by many he was never thoroughly known, or appreciated at his true value. This was due to his truly unselfish nature and his high aims for the College.

He regarded it as a religious as well as a literary institution, a *correlative of the Church*, having high and holy claims above all personal interests, or even its interests as a seat of merely secular learning; for the well ordering of which were required wise laws and ordinances to insure its usefulness, and for the due administration of which laws they should be well understood. This knowledge he possessed in an eminent degree. His mind was deeply imbued with the theory and practice of literary and religious instruction. It reflects no reproach or dishonor on others to say that *in this respect he stood alone!*

He was not the only wise and noble hearted one who has felt what it is in the darkest hour to lack sympathy, and in the severest labors to feel the need of a helping hand from

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those who could not understand him. But all this is past. His heroic endurance and patience, and his lofty aims are appreciated now, and they who to-day feel the impress of his moulding hand, hold him in grateful remembrance.

W. A. MATSON.

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#### RECENT LITERATURE.

*Daniel Webster. American Statesmen Series.* By HENRY CABOT LODGE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This is an eminently successful piece of work. Its study gives a full knowledge of the man. Failure in that respect comes sometimes from defect in the biographer and sometimes from a limpness and inconsistency of character in the person sketched. Webster was so pronounced in his faults and in his excellencies that only ignorance and prejudice, or dishonesty and want of skill, could fail to give a striking and truthful presentment.

We have been surprised that Mr. Lodge has been able to put into so small a compass so satisfactory a review of the public life of so great a man. Perhaps the book by Mr. George T. Curtis will continue to be regarded as the most scholarly, elaborate, and complete statement of his private and public career, but, as an authority, we greatly prefer this. It is not tinged with dogmatism, nor does it give any sign of political bias. The tone is honest, frank, and appreciative, and the writer shows a sense of the greatness of his subject and of the responsibility of his task. As a result of this attitude we have a trustworthy estimate, and from it we get a true impression of the man, and of his relation to the great questions of statesmanship in which he took a prominent part.

He does not conceal Mr. Webster's blemishes of character, such as his habitual neglect of debt obligation, but he does not, to maintain a critical judgment, let foibles mar an otherwise grand personality. Neither does he palliate the great mistake of his life (the 7th of March speech), by which he stultified his past record, alienated his staunchest

friends, and drew upon himself a condemnation that oblivion cannot cover without at the same time covering much of his justly earned glory. He confirms the world's decision as to his deserved fame as an intellectual giant, an able expositor of the Constitution, and an exponent of broad, patriotic and moral statesmanship. He also presents him as an exceptionally great orator on great occasions, always rising to the heights of his theme and never disappointing the most exacting demands of his auditors. He does justice to him in the great debate with Hayne, so far as power and victory are concerned, although we think he somewhat belittles the glory of Mr. Webster by attributing to him a misapprehension, or a misstatement, of the intrinsic nature of the Constitution. Mr. Webster properly regarded it as the exponent and bond of national life rather than a compact between the States. We differ *toto coelo* from Mr. Lodge, and believe that question to have been theoretically settled by the terms of the instrument, and *now* practically settled by the result of the rebellion.

With the above single exception we endorse Mr. Lodge's book as an admirable statement of Mr. Webster's character and work, and heartily commend it to those who cherish his fame.

*The Scriptural Idea of Man: Six Lectures given before the Theological Students at Princeton, on the L. P. Stone Foundation.* By MARK HOPKINS, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

These lectures are the production of one who to a sound judgment and long experience adds a thorough appreciation of the needs of the present age. He is not one who lives in the thought of the past. He is fully abreast with the learning and philosophy of to-day, and in these lectures proves himself a wise counsellor to those who are to be the theological teachers of the coming generation.

The theory of Evolution is clearly stated and ably refuted. The consideration of the subject of "Man in the Image of God," and of "the Moral Nature of Man," involves a discussion of some of the positions taken by Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Christlieb, Professor Calderwood, Mansel, and others, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the

works of the best known living writers as well of those who, fifty years ago, were regarded as the great lights in philosophy and theology. He repudiates some of the old errors in regard to the fall of man, and argues at considerable length that, "by the fall, man lost the moral character by which he was in the image of God, but the Scriptures do not give us the impression that he lost that image of God in which he was created." The author is very clear in his treatment of "knowledge, belief, faith and consciousness;" particularly in pointing out the definite office of Faith as that term is used in the Scriptures, and in showing in how different a sense it is employed by many well-known writers. He says:

I admit of no faith 'that lives in the invisible world and brings truths unattainable by Reason and imparts them to her.' If truths are to be brought from the invisible world, it must be by some being, and not by faith, and must be received, if received at all, on the ground of adequate evidence. Faith, belief of any kind, regarded as mere belief—except as based on evidence—what is it but weakness and folly?" Again: "The faith of the Bible always rests on a person as its object or ground, and has in it a voluntary element. It manifests itself in belief, in obedience and in commitment; in believing what a person says because he says it; in doing what he commands because he commands it, and in committing to him without reserve all that he offers himself to us for. Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. That was faith. When commanded to go out from his own country, not knowing whither he went, he obeyed. That was faith. And when Paul committed his soul to Christ, knowing whom he believed, and that he was able to keep it against that day, that was faith. Here we have, constantly, trust in a person and the voluntary element.

The closing chapter, in which he treats of "the Man CHRIST JESUS," is an eloquent setting forth of the mission of Jesus as distinguished from that of any human being or reformer, and as realizing in the highest sense "the Scriptural Idea of Man."

We would cordially commend the work to the candidates for orders and younger clergy, who, if they occasionally find a form of expression or a doctrinal statement not quite in accordance with the instructions they have received from our Gamaliels, will find enough besides which will prove of great service in the conflict with scientific and philosophic infidelity, which every clergyman in this and the coming age should be prepared to meet.

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*The Theory of Morals.* By PAUL JANET, Member of the Institute. Translated from the latest French edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Professor Janet's "Elements of Morals," first published in 1869, has become widely known, and in some of our best institutions of learning has been read and studied in the original French. His *La Morale* is a later work, or rather is the former rewritten and enlarged, only a few chapters of it having been preserved entire. The first was such a presentation of the clearest and most useful results of moral science as would be accessible to all minds, particularly to those of the young. The present work, "The Theory of Morals," enters more thoroughly into the subject, goes back to first principles, and defines with precision the fundamental ideas of morals. But while there is so much gained in matter there is nothing lost in clearness. It is rare to find a work of such depth of research so lucid in its statements. It is no doubt the author's great clearness, and the simplicity of his style, which gives such interest to the work. Open where one will he is sure to have his attention arrested, and is not disposed to lay the book aside. The volume before us is a translation by Miss Mary Chapman, under the supervision of President Noah Porter of Yale College, by an arrangement with and under the authority of the author.

Briefly stated, M. Janet's theory is this: Moral good presupposes a natural good, which is not measured by the pleasure it brings, but according to its intrinsic excellence. The most excellent thing in man is not exterior or corporeal goods, but the excellence of his soul, *i. e.*—of his personality, his reasonable will. This excellence of personality does not consist in itself, but also in its union with others, or fraternity, and also in devotion to the beautiful, the true and the holy. This good is happiness. But happiness is not a mere combination of pleasures—it is the highest joy, the purest pleasure adequate to the highest excellence. There is a true happiness and a false one; the former resulting from the excellence of our nature, and the latter from our satisfied sensibility. One part of our nature desires true good, and the other part desires also the appear-

ance of good. The will which desires the true good commands the will which desires the false good. This command is moral obligation. The anatomy of the will is the legislative principle of morality. Duty consists in striving after that which is naturally good; and an action which is morally good is the one which is performed for the sake of duty. The domains of good and duty are absolutely equivalent. Aristotle was correct in saying that "the virtuous man is he who finds pleasure in performing virtuous acts." Happiness then is not the reward of virtue, it is virtue itself. The future life should not be considered as a recompense, but as a peaceful enjoyment of the only thing which has any value—perfection. Properly speaking it is not a recompense, but a deliverance. Morality leads to religion. Practical faith in the existence of God is the postulate of the moral law.

*Things New and Old in Discourses of Christian Truth and Life.* By WASHINGTON GLADDEN. Columbus, O.: A. H. Smythe.

The value of these sermons by the author of "The Christian League," is that they are the untrammelled and characteristic parish teaching of one who exhibits more fully the modern spirit and method of the pulpit than almost any man of his time. They have the spoken rather than the literary style, and Dr. Gladden would be the last man to call them an addition to literature; but as popular discourses in which the modern method is exclusively used they deserve careful study, and will help to teach young men how to preach effectively. Nobody could sleep under the preaching of such sermons.

*The Oriental Christ* By P. C. MOZOONDAR. Boston: George H. Ellis.

This book is written by the distinguished Hindoo preacher who spent the autumn months in this country, and whose position as one of the leaders of the Brahmo Somaj, in India, entitles it to consideration. It takes up CHRIST in His different attitudes as bathing, fasting, praying, teaching, weeping, rebuking, pilgrimaging, trusting, healing, feasting, parting, dying, and reigning, without going farther than to accept His Spirit—not character as

man, but accepting it in the spirit of the Oriental as distinguished from that of the Western mind. The value of the book is entirely in the experience of the writer of it, who has here taught men. Now the intelligent Oriental people regard the CHRIST of the nations. The preface is a deeply interesting narrative of personal experience. It makes the utmost of what He is as man, and lingers tenderly upon the confines of His Divine life. Mr. Mozoondar significantly says: "My aspiration has been not to speculate on CHRIST, but to be what JESUS tells us all to be." The several chapters are "the meditations of a heart which, without any human stimulus or guidance, long ago recognized its personal relationship to the soul and sympathy of CHRIST." There is a certain truth about the CHRIST which is nowhere taught so well as in this book.

*Indian Idylls.* From the Sanskrit of the Mahâbhârata. By EDWIN ARNOLD, C. S. I. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

The poetical translations in this volume are taken from an Epic seven-fold greater in bulk than the Iliad and Odyssey taken together. The subjects are so widely removed from the Western mind that it is not easy to follow Mr. Arnold's renderings or tell how far he keeps to the sentiment and order of the original text in his unrhymed verse. At best the *Indian Idylls* must be classed among the curiosities of literature, and yet they show that the Oriental heart is not essentially different from the Occidental.

*Memoir of Charles Lowe.* By his Wife, MARTHA PERRY LOWE. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co.

The claims of Charles Lowe upon public attention in the shape of an extended biography are both personal and denominational. He was a delightful man in his friendly relations, winning, loveable, living for others and sharing in the best life of his time. He was born in 1828, and died in 1874. Educated at Exeter Academy and Harvard College, he was graduated from the Harvard Divinity School to enter the Unitarian ministry, where he served both in private and public life until his death. He was the most popular man in his denomination, as its secretary in Boston, from 1865, for the most part of the time till his death, was the skilful and effective manager of Unitarian

interests. This gives its chief value to this carefully written volume. It upholds the social and spiritual life of the Unitarian body at its centre, and represents its interests and its development on the side that is nearest to an adequate belief in the truths of the Christian religion. Mr. Lowe kept men together when hostile elements entered into the denominational life, and bound hearts to himself when the demand for free religion and a creedless organization threatened to break the ranks of the Unitarian fold. One derives from the book a vivid idea of the condition of Boston Unitarianism during the last twenty-five years.

*Emerson's Works: Poems, Lectures and Biographical Sketches. Miscellanies*, by RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These three volumes conclude the new and complete edition of Emerson's writings, and contain a large amount of new matter. All is new, indeed, except the poems which belong to the earlier editions. The new poems occupy about seventy pages and are of a scrappy character, often mere fragments, and yet including some bright and valuable pieces like "Walden," and the considerable poem, entitled, "The Poet." Emerson's fame does not rest on his poetry. He did not consider himself a poet, and in the prime elements of poetry he was certainly deficient, but in another sense he was a great imaginative author, and all his writings are full of poetic insight and power. He had the vision and faculty divine but wanted the accomplishment of verse. His fame, therefore, rests upon his prose, and this fame is enriched, it can hardly be said to be increased, by the two volumes which are now added to previous editions of his writings. They do not differ in substance or literary quality from the essays upon which his reputation was won. The *Lectures and Biographical Sketches* contain his notable essays on "Character," "Education," "Perpetual Forces," "The Superlative," "The Preacher," and "The Sovereignty of Ethics." The volume also includes some of his finest purely literary work, such as the biography of Dr. Ezra Ripley and the "Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England." The final volume of *Miscellanies* brings together his memorable utterances on all sorts of oc-

casions, and gives a better idea of the political and social opinions of the Concord author than is to be found elsewhere. In one of his speeches before the Free Religious Association occurs the following characteristic passage:

It is the praise of our New Testament that its teachings go to the honor and benefit of humanity—that no better lesson has been taught or incarnated. Let it stand, beautiful and wholesome, with whatever is most like it in the teaching and practice of men; but do not attempt to elevate it out of humanity by saying, 'This was not a man,' for then you confound it with the fables of every popular religion, and my distrust of the story makes me distrust the doctrine as soon as it differs from my own belief.

Emerson enters easily into the category of American authors, and this edition of his writings is a fitting tribute to their value.

*The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief.* By GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883.

This is a notable, and on the whole a successful and most useful work. While some portions of the argument might have been more strongly and prominently put, if the work had been written by a Churchman, yet there is *nothing* in it antagonistic to the Church's true position. The author writes in the tone and feeling, and with the whole cast of thought, of a Churchman. What is also of great value to the book is, that the author shows entire familiarity with the varied squadrons of the motley army which has attacked Christianity in modern times, and his easy mode of dealing with each in its turn shows, that, in this book, he has not been cramming to get up a subject for the making of a respectable volume, but is only drawing off in book form the ripened and settled convictions of many years of study. Moreover, the style is clear, simple and *very readable*, and we trust that the volume will be extensively read.

*The Hymns of Martin Luther, Set to their Original Melodies, with an English Version.* Edited by LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON, assisted by NATHAN H. ALLEN. Published in Commemoration of the Four Hundredth Anniversary of Luther's Birthday, November 10, 1483. New York. By Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883.

This handsome quarto volume is very welcome to all who love to explore the fountains of famous hymns. Dr. Bacon's *Preface* gives extracts from many writers in proof of Luther's great influence as a hymn-writer and musician. A translation is also given of the *four "Prefaces"* written by Luther to the hymn-books of Walther, Klug, Bapst, etc., published during Luther's life, and all of them containing some of his work. But, with all the valuable material which it contains, this book is *not* entirely satisfactory, either as to the words or music of the XXXVI Hymns reproduced therein. And a couple of extracts from Dr. Bacon's *Preface* will tell the reason why:

The exigencies of this volume were peculiarly severe, inasmuch as the translation was to be printed over against the original, and also under the music. Not even Mr. Richard Massie's careful work would always bear this double test; so that I have found myself compelled, in most cases, to give up the attempt to follow any translation exactly; and in some cases have reluctantly attempted a wholly new version.

So much for the words.

As to the music, the whole credit of which is given to Mr. Nathan H. Allen, we find something similar:

In the choice of harmonies for these ancient tunes, he has wisely preferred, in general, the arrangements of the older masters. The critical musician will see, and will not complain, that the *original model structure* of the *melodies* is sometimes affected by the harmonic treatment.

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*Lamps and Paths.* By THEODORE T. MUNGER. Boston; N. J. Bartlett & Co.

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*Excursions of an Evolutionist.* By JOHN FISKE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Fiske's essays are strongly impregnated with his opinions as an evolutionist, and are chiefly in that strain. They were contributions to the *Atlantic Monthly* and *North American Review*, in their original form, and are something more than revamped statements of other men's thoughts. They discuss "Our Aryan Forefathers," "Sociology and Hero Worship," "The Origins of Protestantism," "Evolution and Religion," and similar subjects, with more information than belongs to the common essayist, and less competency than belongs to the specialist. Mr. Fiske is most at home on scientific subjects. These essays show him at his best. The religious essays are written from the sociological point of view. They are worth reading, but are tempered by the atmosphere of unbelief in supernatural religion which

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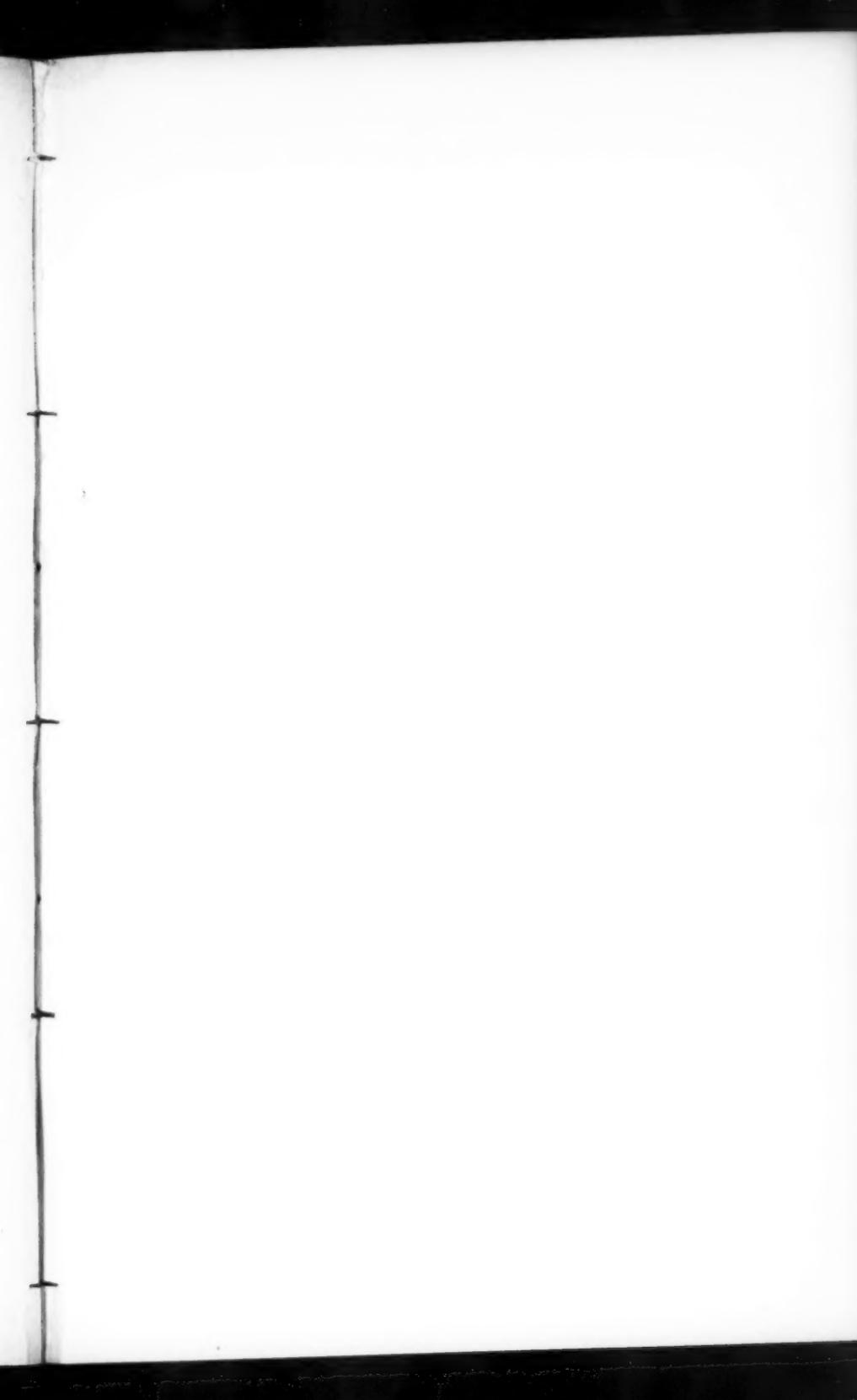
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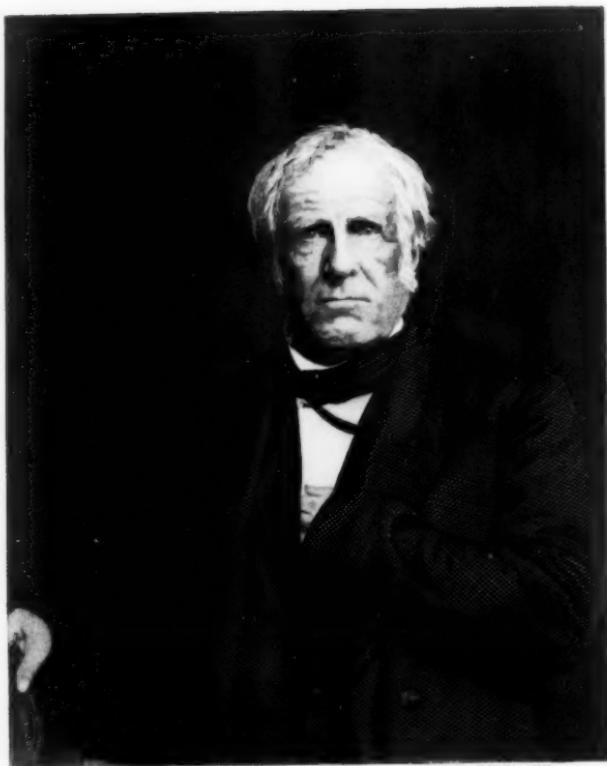
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